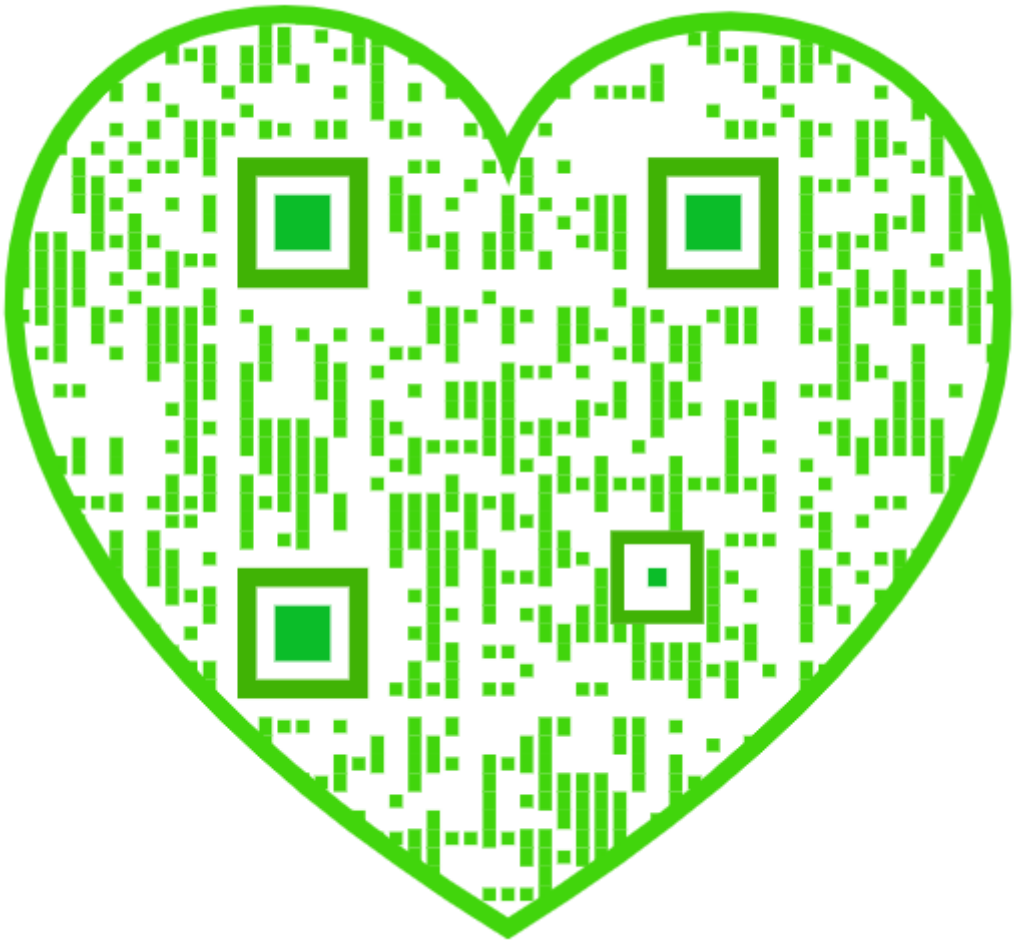

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AMERICAN HISTORY

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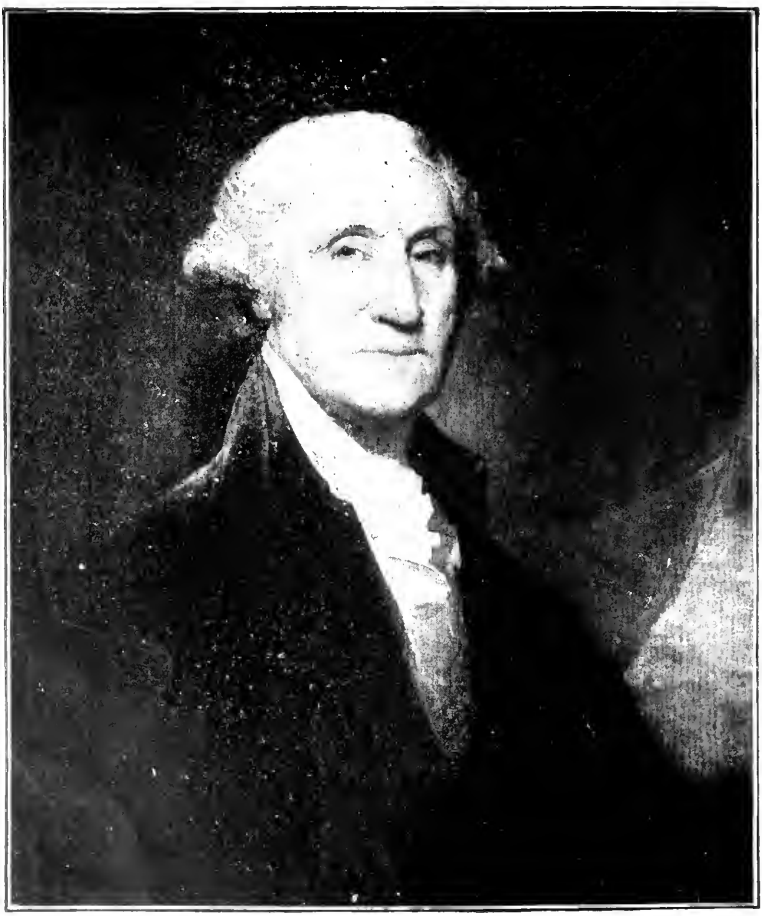

George Washington

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AMERICAN HISTORY

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WITH MANY
ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON

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PREFACE

It has been the aim of the authors of this book to give the main features in the development of our Nation, to explain the America of to-day, its civilization and its traditions. In order to do this, it was necessary to select topics from the various fields of human activity, the political, industrial, social, educational, and religious. Emphasis has been placed upon the fact that the position the United States occupies among the great nations is due primarily to the achievements of men and women in these fields. Consequently the military phases of our history, striking as some of them are, have in a measure been subordinated to the accounts of the victories of peace. We have thought it desirable also to give greater prominence than has been usual in school texts to the advance of the frontier and to the growth and influence of the West. Particular care has been taken to state the essential facts in European history necessary to the explanation of events in America.

How may the subject be best presented to the pupils of high-school age has been constantly in mind. To that end, only trustworthy illustrative material has been included and the maps have been prepared with great care. While there is no separate chapter or section devoted to a discussion of the physical geography of America, it will be noted that the influence of geographical conditions has been constantly stated in connection with events and conditions mentioned in the volume.

The references given in the suggestive questions at the

end of each chapter are to books which might well be included in a school or a public library. Teachers will, no doubt, modify these supplementary references to suit local conditions. A more extensive list is accessible in the syllabus, "History in the Secondary Schools," issued under the auspices of the New England History Teachers' Association and published by D. C. Heath and Co.

Wherever possible, by means of marginal references and supplementary questions, the intimate relations between American history and government have been indicated. The outlines to be found in Appendix I carry out this plan of correlation in so far as it is practicable.

We are under obligation to many teachers of history in the secondary schools for practical suggestions. We desire especially to express our indebtedness to the following teachers of history for reading certain chapters of the manuscript and proof: William H. Shephard, North High School, Minneapolis; L. A. Fulwider, Freeport, Ill., High School; B. E. Powell, New Trier Township, Ill., High School; Carlo F. Sargent, Northwestern Academy, Evanston; Edward C. Page, DeKalb, Ill., State Normal; A. D. S. Gillett, Superior, Wis., State Normal; William Kittle, Secretary of Normal Board of Regents, Madison, Wis.; Dr. Royal B. Way, Beloit College; and to J. P. Odell, Instructor in English, Northwestern University. Professor Charles W. Mann, of Lewis Institute, Chicago, has read much of the manuscript and nearly all of the galley proofs. He has also kindly furnished a number of illustrations.

We shall be pleased to be informed of any errors and to receive any suggestions which may make the book more usable.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS,
January 1, 1909.

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AMERICAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

THE geographical separation of the American continents from those of the Eastern Hemisphere is the first great fact in their history. It was, in part, a consequence of this fact that there was an entire lack of contact between the peoples of Europe and the New World during the many centuries when civilization was developing in the former. The original inhabitants of America were entirely uninfluenced by European ideas, and never developed beyond a primitive stage of civilization. When, at last, the streams of influence began to flow between the Old World and the New, the civilization that crossed the Atlantic was not Oriental, nor classic, nor medieval, but *modern*. America came under European influence precisely at the time when the new life and the new spirit of progress that characterize modern times were becoming dominant.

The Northmen's voyages.

The long isolation of America was due to the obstacles that lay in the way of its discovery by Europeans. These were, briefly, (1) the great ocean that lay between; (2) the lack of adequate means of navigation; and (3) the lack of the spirit of adventure and geographical inquiry, or its employment in other directions. These difficulties were temporarily overcome five centuries before the time of Columbus by the hardy and adventurous Northmen of the Scandinavian peninsula. They had made conquests upon the coasts of England and of northern France, and had penetrated even to Mediterranean countries. They

sailed in their long boats* to Iceland (874 A.D.), and there built up a considerable colony. Greenland was next found, and here Norse settlements existed for several centuries. In the year 1000, Leif Ericson, sailing from Norway for Greenland, lost his way and explored for some distance along a strange coast, which we may believe was that of Nova Scotia or of New England. In one locality he found grapes in abundance; and so we have the name Wineland, or Vinland. Other voyages followed that of Leif, and timber was carried from Vinland to Greenland and to Iceland. The Northmen traded for furs with the Indians, or "skraelings," as they called the natives, and, of course, quarrels arose between them which led to the abandonment of the colony. The Norse occupation of American coasts was not renewed because of the difficulty and unprofitableness of the voyage.

Leif Ericson and Vinland.

This account follows the old Norse traditions or *sagas*, which were first written in permanent form about two centuries after the events they describe. It is impossible to tell how many of the details of the accounts are true. Since no tangible remains of the Norse settlements exist, the exact location of their explorations cannot be determined. Probably the Norse visits to Vinland had no influence upon the discovery of America by Columbus; for the knowledge of them seems to have had no existence in southern Europe during the Middle Ages.

It has been stated that before the fifteenth century the people of Europe lacked the means of navigation, and the curiosity and determination that were necessary to surmount the difficulties of a trans-Atlantic voyage. The *idea* that such a voyage was possible had not been lacking; it was, in fact, based upon the belief in the sphericity of the earth. This belief was of very ancient origin, having been taught by the Greeks of the sixth century

Ancient knowledge of the sphericity and size of the earth.

* It was the custom of the Northmen to make a sea-roving chieftain's boat his tomb and to cover it with a huge mound of earth. One of these Viking ships was unearthed at Gokstad, Norway, in 1880, and another at Oseberg in 1903. Each is over one hundred feet long. See Century Magazine, September, 1905, 729–733.

before Christ. Aristotle (fourth century B.C.), Strabo (contemporaneous with Christ), Pliny (first century A.D.), and Claudius Ptolemy (about 150, A.D.), are among the learned men of Greece and Rome who taught this fact. Moreover, the *size* of the earth had been approximately calculated, although ancient authorities never reached an agreement upon this matter. This knowledge concerning the shape and size of the earth did not die out with the decline of learning that took place during the Middle Ages; but, preserved by the Arabians and by the scholars of the monasteries, it was transmitted to the time of Columbus. At this time "astronomers, philosophers, men of general learning, and even navigators and pilots were quite familiar with the idea and quite in the habit of thinking of the earth as a sphere."*

Its transmission to modern times.

In the Colombina Library at Seville there may be seen a Latin treatise upon geography written by Cardinal D'Ailly or Alliacus, a learned theologian and philosopher; and upon its margins are annotations in the handwriting of Columbus. Now, this author (writing about 1400) quotes Roger Bacon (about 1250), who in turn quotes Aristotle as authority upon these matters. Thus "the torch which Aristotle had kindled was transmitted by Bacon to Alliacus; Alliacus handed it on to Columbus."†

Nor did the geographers of ancient times hesitate to follow their ideas to logical conclusions; viz., that the great sea which lay west of the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) was the same that washed the eastern shores of Asia; and that a vessel sailing westward from Spain would surely reach those shores. Such beliefs were, of course, confined to the learned few and to navigators. The mass of people in both ancient and medieval times held the conception of a flat earth, surrounded by oceans, and covered by the dome-like heavens.

* Cheyney, European Background of American History, 52.

† Payne. History of America, I, 50. For a reproduction of Alliacus's treatise showing the annotations of Columbus, see Wilson, History of the American People, I, 3. Also Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, I, 31.

At the beginning of modern times, conditions became favorable for the accomplishment of the trans-Atlantic voyage and the discovery of America.

Geographical discovery was one phase of the Renaissance.

1. The fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries mark a transition period in the history of civilization; for there came about in these centuries many changes presaging the new intellectual activity of modern times. This was the high tide of the Renaissance. The human mind was assuming the attitude of *inquiry* toward both nature and man. Hence we have notable contributions to civilization not only in the fields of art and literature but also in those of science and invention. We find at this time evidences of that modern scientific curiosity coupled with the practical spirit of enterprise which had been lacking in ancient and medieval times, and which we may regard as an indispensable condition for the discovery of the New World by the Old. This was the age of *exploration*—men were making geographical discoveries in all directions. The reaching out for new lands was but one form in which the intellectual activity of the new era found expression. The epoch-making voyage of Columbus was not an isolated event, but only one in a long series of discoveries. "The greatest fruit of the Renaissance was America." *

Improvements in navigation.

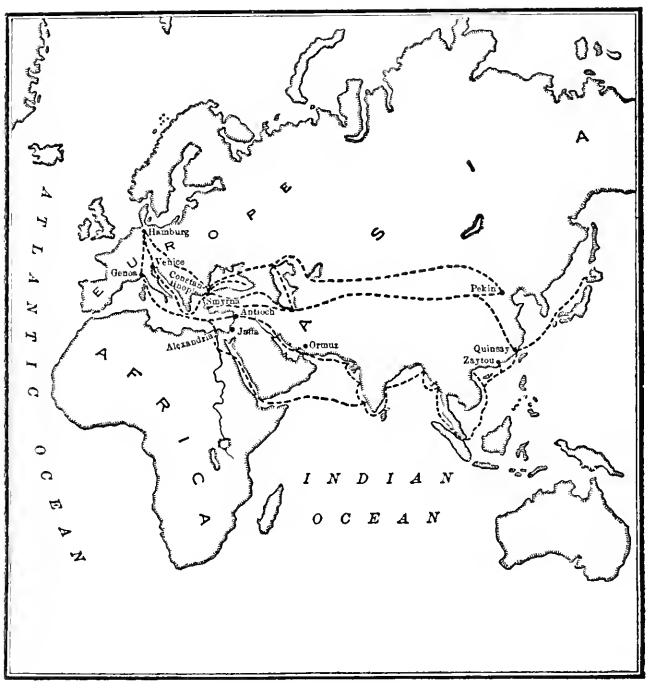
2. In the time of Columbus the facilities for making an extensive ocean voyage were better than ever before. The compass, probably derived by the Arabs from the Chinese, had been used in navigation for several centuries, and gradually mariners had become emboldened by its use. The astrolabe, by means of which latitude could be determined from observations of the heavenly bodies, was a great aid to navigation. In the thirteenth century the small galleys of ancient times began to be superseded by high-built vessels fit to navigate the ocean and large enough to carry the stores needed on a long voyage.

3. The immediate cause, supplying the impulse for the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean, was *commercial*.

* Payne, History of America, I. 14.

It was simply the necessity for opening up new routes for commerce with the Orient. The old routes, as shown on the accompanying map, had been in use since ancient times. India and other eastern countries had been, from time immemorial, the sources of luxuries and

Trade with the East was stimulated by the Crusades.



Medieval Trade Routes.

riches craved by the people of Mediterranean countries. That great movement of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries known as the Crusades had brought Europeans into closer contact with travellers and traders from the East; thus new products were introduced into Europe, the

routes and methods of trade became more familiar, and from this time the growth of commerce became very marked. The sugar and spices, silks and jewels, drugs and oils of the East were exchanged for the iron, tin, lead, grains, wool, soap, and furs of the Mediterranean and Baltic countries.

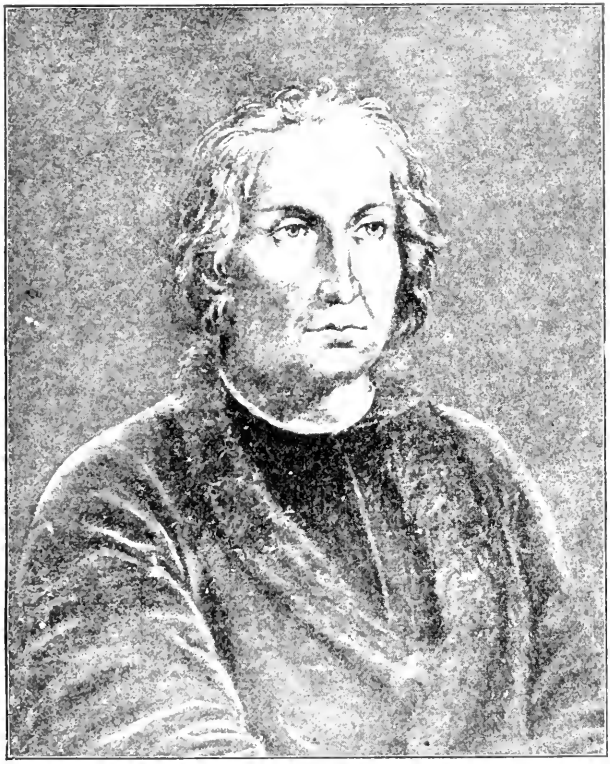
Ideas of India and Cathay.

Fifteenth-century Europeans believed that the commercial possibilities of that indefinite and almost unknown region called "India," were by no means fully developed. Vague stories were afloat concerning the untold riches of that land and of others lying beyond. From Cathay (China) had come accounts of populous empires and their enormous resources. Marco Polo, an Italian, had first travelled in Cathay, and later had lived there for seventeen years in official service. His accounts of the country and its riches, written about two centuries before the discovery of America, and while he was lying in a Genoese prison, were now being studied with great interest.

Practical reasons for new trade routes.

The necessity for a new route to the eastern countries came about when, in the fourteenth century, the Turks began to attack the caravans and to restrict the trade by the old routes. Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453; and before the end of the fifteenth century a like fate was suffered by all the cities that were centres of European trade on the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. Trade was not forbidden, but the supply of eastern products available for European markets was very much reduced, because merchants were burdened with restrictions, because life and property became unsafe, and because the barbarous Turks, caring little themselves for the luxuries of the East, cared less to import them for sale in the West. At the same time, the growth of wealth in European countries gave rise to an increased demand for these goods. The Red Sea route was not closed until the Turks captured Egypt, early in the sixteenth century; but the Arabs had a monopoly of the trade by this route, and raised the prices. All western Europe felt the burden of these new conditions; and it was the determination to open up new highways of commerce with the East and thus at once to

thwart the enmity of the Turks and to introduce competition with the Arabs, that led to the discovery of America.



Christopher Columbus
Marine Museum, Madrid

The influence of Prince Henry of Portugal.

Contemporaneously with these changes, others of great consequence were taking place. The nations of western Europe, whose borders touched the Atlantic Ocean, were rising into prominence, and foremost among them was the little kingdom of Portugal. Prince Henry of Portugal

(1394–1460), gave great encouragement not only to scientific investigation but also to practical exploration. By the year 1460 Portugese navigators had visited all the island groups that lay off the coast of Africa—the Madeiras, the Canaries, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands—and were pushing their voyages gradually southward along the coast of that continent. Besides the trading motive that incited these voyages there came to be a conscious attempt to discover a new route to India, an attempt based upon the current belief (this in turn based upon classic authorities) that Africa did not extend so far south as the equator. Therefore, it was argued, a short voyage to India could be made around this continent. During the third quarter of the fifteenth century the Portuguese voyagers sailed farther south on the western coast of Africa, crossing the equator in 1471, and later finding longer stretches of coast to the southward.

The theory of Columbus.

Columbus had lived in Portugal, probably between 1470 and 1486, and during a large part of this time was in the maritime service of that country. Consequently he was familiar with the advanced ideas of geography and navigation there prevalent. It was his contention that the shortest water route to India lay due west across the Atlantic Ocean, rather than around Africa.

False geographical ideas.

Although, in ancient times, a close approximation had been made to the actual size of the earth, it was the belief of Columbus that the islands lying off the eastern coast of Asia were distant from the Canaries only 2,500 miles. This view is explained by the fact that, according to many authorities of his time, Asia extended eastward for a distance equal to the entire width of the Pacific Ocean. This geographical error was most fortunate for Columbus; for had his knowledge of the distance between Europe and Asia been accurate, he would probably never have undertaken the voyage.

The ambition of Columbus was aided by another geographical misconception; viz., that in the mid-Atlantic islands existed that

would serve as half-way stages on the western voyage. English and Portuguese sailors had repeatedly set forth to find these fabled islands, but without success.

The letters and map of Toscanelli.

In the biography of Columbus, written by his son Ferdinand, we are told that a famous doctor of Florence, Toscanelli by name, wrote letters, first to a friend in Portugal and later to Columbus, sustaining the geographical ideas above stated and encouraging the execution of a voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Accompanying his letter in each case was a map showing the proximity of Asia to the western coast of Europe, and also showing, in favorable positions, various islands that we know to be mythical. It is said in the biography that Columbus carried a copy of this map when on his first voyage.

The most eminent authorities disagree upon many points in the life of Columbus. We may be certain that he led a seafaring life during his youth and that his occupation as a man was map- and chart-making. He went on many voyages, and probably visited the coasts of Africa and of Iceland. He was a deep student of all available writings upon geography and navigation. His convictions were based upon years of patient study.

By the end of the fifteenth century the times were ripe for the long-postponed transatlantic voyage; the idea of its possibility rested upon a secure foundation; many bold voyages were being undertaken, and Portugal was the centre of maritime activity. Here Columbus first made an effort to secure aid in the execution of his plans. But the Portuguese were interested in the route around Africa. Columbus was, in consequence, forced to seek aid elsewhere, and in 1484 he went to Spain, at the same time sending his brother Bartholomew to England.

The experience of Columbus in Spain.

In his application for aid at the Court of Spain Columbus dwelt mainly upon the commercial advantages that would certainly result from his success; and upon the prospect of carrying the Christian religion to the heathen peoples of the East. For years he pleaded in vain. The greatest obstacle to his success was the fact that the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, were then engaged in that fierce struggle with the Moors which ended in 1492 with the capture of Granada. When the war was over, Columbus was summoned to the court, and then arose

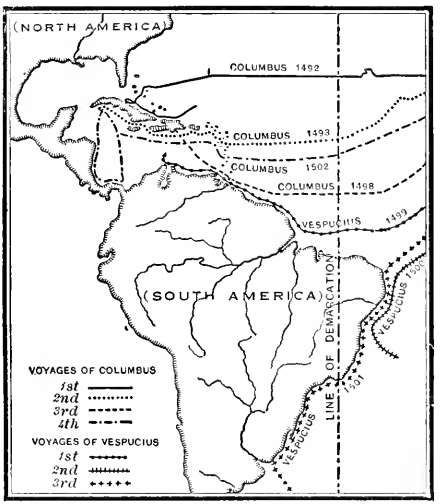
another obstacle which nearly defeated his plans. The terms upon which Columbus was willing to lead his expedition were, in view of the attendant risk, considered altogether too high. But finally, through the efforts of influential friends of Columbus, Queen Isabella authorized the expedition.

In the negotiations preceding his voyage, we mark the perseverance of Columbus as that of a really great man: his practical wisdom is seen in his demand that the expedition should be equipped on a scale large enough to accomplish the end in view; and his supreme faith and courage challenge our admiration. He dared to do what others had only dreamed of.

The four voyages.

The first voyage, from its beginning at Palos in Spain until the discovery of a small island in the Bahama group, on October 12, 1492, lasted ten weeks. We must hold constantly in mind the fact that Columbus believed that the lands discovered were Asiatic. It was well known that many islands lay to the south and east of Asia. When, however, Columbus reached the northern coast of Cuba, and when on his second voyage (1493), he explored its southern coast, he believed that he was on the main land of Cochin China. To him, Hayti was the northern end of Cipango (Japan)—that wonderfully rich island of which Marco Polo had written exaggerated reports. The first and second voyages were disappointing; only small quantities of gold had been found, and the populous cities of India still lay beyond. In the conviction that his goal lay farther south, Columbus directed his third voyage (1498) that way, and found the northern coast of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. This he spoke of as "the main land and very large"; and again as "another world." In the same year, the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, sailed around Africa to India and returned with a rich cargo. This proved a serious blow to the reputation of Columbus, and constituted one cause for the discoverer's decline in favor. Added to this

were the failure of the colonies that he had planted in the West Indies and the machinations of his enemies both in the colonies and at the Spanish Court. But Columbus was permitted to make one more effort to penetrate the obstacles that lay between Spain and India. In 1502–1504 he skirted the coasts of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama in a vain effort to find the straits that would lead him into the Indian Ocean. Columbus died in 1506, a broken and defeated old man, still believing that he had found Asia and the Indies, and south of these "another world."



The Regions Explored by Columbus and Vespucius

How did it happen that the continents of the Western Hemisphere received the name "America," instead of being named for their real discoverer, Columbus? When the Portuguese had succeeded in exploring extensive coasts along western Africa, the Pope issued a decree granting to that nation the control of those heathen countries and of others that they might discover even "as far as India." Upon the return of Columbus from his first voyage, it became evident that Spain also must have a claim in Asiatic waters. To arrange the division between these two countries, a bull was issued by Pope Alex-

The "Line of Demarcation" established.

ander VI in 1493, and this was supplemented by a treaty in 1494, which finally settled a "line of demarcation." This was a meridian located 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.* The Portuguese, then, were free to make their future voyages along the African coast and eastward to Asia; while the Spanish, going westward

Americus Vespucius
From Herrera's Historia Generale de las India

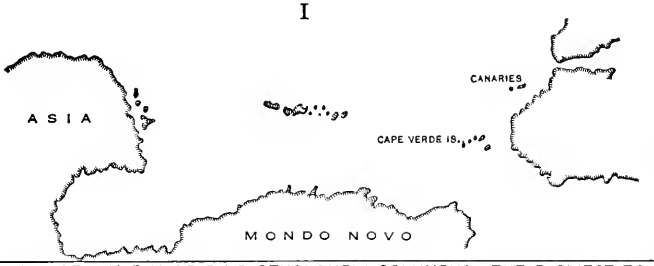
across the line of demarcation, might explore and colonize the heathen lands in that direction.

The exploration of the South American coast.

Now, in the year 1500 a Portuguese navigator, Cabral by name, was making a voyage around Africa to India. In the tropical latitudes the course of his fleet bore so far westward that he sighted the coast of Brazil. This he knew must be east of the line of demarcation and hence within the sphere assigned to Portugal. When the news of Cabral's discovery reached Portugal, an expedition was sent out, with which went Americus Vespucius, an as-

*About 41 degrees west longitude from Greenwich.

I



SKETCH OF A MAP MADE BY BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS. THE EARLIEST TO CONTAIN THE NAME MONDO NOVO (NEW WORLD)

II

THE LENOX GLOBE

III

MERCATOR'S MAP 1541

EARLY GEOGRAPHICAL IDEAS OF AMERICA

I The connection of the New World with Asia

II The New World (South America) a separate continent

III The application of the name "America" to both continents

Early Geographical Ideas of America

tronomer and navigator. In the years 1501 and 1502 this expedition skirted the coast of Brazil from Cape St. Roque southward for 700 leagues, reaching 35 degrees south latitude. In previous years other expeditions had explored the northern coast of South America, and thus the idea of the immensity of this land, dimly realized by Columbus, became impressed upon men's minds. This was in truth a real continent; and, moreover, it was a continent hitherto unknown; for *it lay under and south of the equator.* It is not strange, therefore, that when Vespucius wrote an account of his voyage he called this land "Mundus Novus," or the New World. Copies of his letter were printed in many different editions and scattered broadcast, especially through northern Europe.

The naming of America.

In 1507 Waldseemüller, a German geographer, was publishing a treatise, and in his comments upon the explorations of Vespucius he used the following language: "But now these parts have been more extensively explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespucius . . . wherefore I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it Amerige or America, *i. e.*, the land of Americus, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia have got their names from women."* The newly invented art of printing made possible the rapid multiplication of the geographies in which this suggestion was made; as a result, the name America soon became fixed, first upon the southern continent, and later upon the northern one also, when it was no longer confused with Asia.

Slight protest against the injustice thus unintentionally done Columbus arose at this time in Spain, because of the ignorance there concerning the use of the name America in northern Europe. On the other hand, in the countries outside of Spain, people failed to realize this injustice because little was known concerning Columbus's third voyage. The account of this voyage of 1498 was not printed in Latin until 1508, several years after the voyages of Vespucius had become celebrated.

*Quoted in Fiske, Discovery of America, II, 136. See here also a fac-simile in Latin of the passage quoted.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. General accounts of the Northmen. Higginson, Larger History of the United States, chap. 2. Fiske, Discovery of America, I, chap. 2. Thwaites, The Colonies, 21–23. Larned, History for Ready Reference (America 10th–11th centuries).

2. Contemporary accounts. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 16. Old South Leaflets, No. 31. American History Leaflets, No. 3.

3. What reasons does Fiske give for believing the accounts of the sagas? Discovery of America, I, 178–194.

4. The Viking ship. Higginson,* 31–35. Fiske, 172–175.

5. A poetical version of the Norse visits to America is found in Longfellow's "Skeleton in Armor."

6. What reasons are there why the Norse discoveries produced no effect in Europe? Fiske, I, 257–262.

7. What nation of ancient times resembled the Northmen in their prominence as a sea-faring and exploring people?

8. Interesting accounts on the following topics are found in Fiske's Discovery of America, Vol. I: The Influence of the Crusades, 270–276; Marco Polo, 280–287; Difficulties of Exploration, 309–316; Prince Henry the Navigator, 316–320. See map of Portuguese voyages, 324.

9. Marco Polo's account of Japan and Java is given in Old South Leaflets, No. 32.

10. Where are the Turks to-day? Who controls the shortest route from Western Europe to India? Has Columbus's idea been realized?

11. Maps showing the two different ideas of Africa are found in Fiske, Discovery, I, 265, 304.

12. For an excellent summary of commercial conditions preceding the discovery of America, see Adams, Civilization During the Middle Ages, 283–290.

13. Reasons why Europeans were eager to reach the East. Cheyney, European Background of American History, 9–19.

14. General accounts of the discovery of America. Higginson, Larger History of the United States, 52–64. Bancroft, History of the United States, I, 7–9; 12–13. Larned, History for Ready Reference, "America."

*Where, as in this reference, and the next, a title is omitted, it has been given in some previous reference of the same set.

15. Contemporaneous accounts. (*a*) Columbus's Letter to St. Angel, written on the return from his first voyage, in American History Leaflets, No. 1. (*b*) Here, also, are extracts from the journal of Columbus, dated October 10 and 11, 1492. (*c*) For other extracts from the journal, see Hart, Contemporaries, I, 35–39. (*d*) Columbus's letter to Sanchez, Hart, Source Book, 1–3. (*e*) The account of the discovery, from the Life of Columbus, by his son, Old South Leaflets, No. 29. (*f*) The memorial of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella (1494) presenting his plans for a colony. Old South Leaflets, No. 71, 1–8. (*g*) Letter of Columbus to the monarchs (1503), Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 19. (*h*) Columbus's account of Cuba, Old South Leaflets, No. 102.

16. Preparations of Columbus for his work. Bourne, Spain in America, 8–20.

17. The following topics are discussed in Fiske's Discovery of America, Vol. I:—Columbus's relations with Toscanelli, 355–367. The early life of Columbus, 349–354. Ideas of the earth, 377–381. The first voyage, 421–431. Second voyage, 462–478. Third voyage, 488–498. Fourth voyage, 504–513.

18. Adams's Christopher Columbus. His first appearance at the court of Spain, 49–53. His visit to La Rabida, 61–63. His demands and the commission, 63–71. The first landing place, 88–93. Relations with the Indians on the second voyage, 129–139; 144–146; 159–163. Third voyage, 177–182. Arrest and imprisonment of Columbus, 195–204. His character, 251–257.

19. Important topics in this chapter are treated in James and Mann, Readings in American History, chapter I, The Discovery of America.

CHAPTER II

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

New geographical problems.

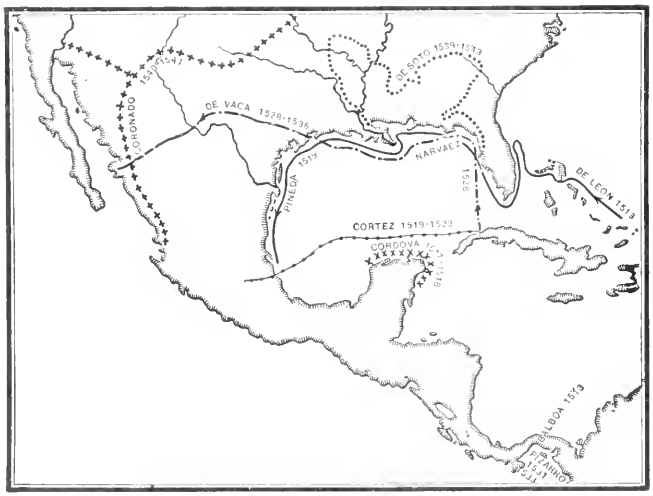
Columbus and his contemporaries made only a beginning in the discovery and exploration of America; their work revealed the problems that lay before the explorers who were to follow. Men were asking, did any part of the newly discovered lands belong to the mainland of Asia? Could the strait be found that would lead the voyager through the island groups into the Indian Ocean? In what direction lay Cathay and Cipango, and how far distant were the shores of India? Gradually, in the course of the events that followed, the truth was revealed that a continuous coast-line barred the way to Asia, and that beyond this barrier lay another ocean, vaster by far than the Atlantic.

Spanish explorations.

The earliest Spanish settlements were established on the island of Hayti, then called Hispaniola. Porto Rico was soon occupied, and next Cuba. From these stations lines of exploration radiated in three directions, south-west, west, and north-west, until the continental coast-line lay completely revealed. The voyages of Columbus to the Pearl Coast of northern South America (1498) and to Darien (1502–1503) were followed by other Spanish expeditions in those directions. The search for gold led to the establishment of Spanish posts on the Isthmus of Panama, and it is among the adventurers who were exploring in this region that we find Balboa. Inspired by the suggestion of a rich land lying to the southward, Balboa crossed the isthmus and beheld the Pacific Ocean (1513), naming it the South Sea in contrast to the Caribbean, or northern, sea.

Thus was taken the first step toward the discovery and conquest of Peru. In the same year Ponce de Leon, Governor of Porto Rico, was given a commission to explore northward in search of a fabled land called "Bimini." On Easter Sunday, 1513, his expedition landed on the coast of Florida. Before returning, his vessels followed

The discovery of the Pacific Ocean, and Florida.



Spanish Voyages of Exploration and Conquest

the coast around the southern end of the peninsula and for some distance along its western side.

Exploration and conquest of Mexico.

In the first settlement made in Cuba (1511) the scarcity of Indian slaves led to a slave-catching expedition to the westward by Cordova. He found the coast of Yucatan (1517), and here the Spaniards first saw signs indicating that the Indians of this region were comparatively advanced in civilization and were possessed of great wealth. In the following year the coast of Mexico was explored; here were indications that the Spaniards had at last found the rich and populous lands described by Marco Polo. Cortez was now sent (1519) to take possession of this country and

to push onward until Cathay was reached. But instead of the civilized peoples of the East, Cortez found in his progress the barbarous Indians of Mexico. The explorations of Pineda, who, in 1519, first skirted the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to Mexico, demonstrated the hopelessness of the search for a strait leading to the Indian Ocean.

Evidently, the way to Asia lay not directly west. A brave Portuguese navigator, Magellan, believed that a route might be found around the southern end of the new continent, America, which would be shorter than that around the Cape of Good Hope.

A new route to India, around South America.

Appealing to the Spanish Court for a fleet, Magellan maintained that the Spice Islands, or Moluccas, of which Portugal was just then taking possession, were outside its jurisdiction; for he wrongly supposed that they lay east of the meridian which continued the Pope's line of demarcation on the other side of the globe. Persuaded by his arguments, the Spanish Government fitted out a fleet of five ships. It was more than a year after his sailing, that, having passed through many dangers from storm and mutiny, Magellan's ships threaded the straits now bearing his name and sailed out upon the ocean which he named the Pacific. Running north for some distance, he then struck westward without the least conception that five thousand miles of ocean lay between him and Asia. After horrible sufferings from lack of food and water, Magellan arrived in 1521 at the Ladrone Islands and soon afterward at the Philippines. This was the beginning of that Spanish occupation of these islands which was ended so recently by their transference to the United States (1898–1899). Magellan was killed in a battle with the natives, and but one of his vessels, carrying the eighteen survivors of his original company of nearly three hundred persons, traversed the entire distance around the globe and arrived finally at Spain. Even after this remarkable voyage, men were slow to grasp the truth concerning the Pacific Ocean, and for many years the idea persisted that North America was in some way connected with Asia.

The circumnavigation of the earth.

Other efforts to reach Asia.

An effort to find the Asiatic route by a northern voyage was made by the Spanish explorer, Gomez, in 1524, when he sailed as far along the coast of North America as Nova Scotia. In 1526 D'Ayllon founded an unsuccessful colony on the Atlantic coast, perhaps in Chesapeake Bay near the future site of Jamestown. It was his purpose, also, to penetrate, if possible, the lands that barred the way to Asia.

The Indians of the West Indies.

The Indians with whom the Spaniards came into contact in the West Indies lived in savagery or in the lower stages of barbarism. They were sometimes docile and friendly to the Spaniards upon their first appearance, as in the Bahamas and Hayti, and sometimes hostile, as in the lesser Antilles. Some were cannibals of a low type. In the main it may be said that they offered little resistance to the Spanish conquest of the islands.

The Mexican Indians.

In Mexico, however, the Spaniards found the natives living in villages where their *pueblos*, or adobe houses, were often large enough to accommodate hundreds of persons. They dressed in colored cotton cloth, were skilled in agriculture, and had constructed excellent systems of irrigation. They possessed domestic animals, especially fowls of various kinds, but had no beasts of burden. This defect was doubtless a hindrance to their advancement towards civilized life. The Mexican Indians displayed considerable skill in mechanics, in pottery, and in working with the precious metals; but they had no iron implements. Picture writing had not yet developed into a real alphabet. In their elaborate religious system there was an organized priesthood, and great temples were constructed; human sacrifice occupied a prominent position in their worship. Politically, these Indians were still in the tribal state, not having developed the idea of nationality. The lowest political organization was the clan, which elected its own council and chiefs. The Aztecs, whose capital was the city of Mexico, constituted a confederacy of three tribes. The war chief of this confederacy, Montezuma, had been elected to his position.

Conditions affecting the Spanish conquest.

The physical geography of Mexico, Central America, and Peru and the character of the Indians inhabiting those countries, went far toward determining the nature of the Spanish conquest. Cortez marched his forces from the coast to the heart of Mexico and captured its capital city with comparatively little opposition; and when the Indians

revolted and turned upon the invaders, they were subdued without great difficulty.

Several reasons account for this fact:—(1) In their advance from savagery to the upper stages of barbarism these Indians had become less warlike. (2) Living in settled communities, they could not readily escape before the advance of the Spaniards. (3) The Aztecs held in subjection several of the surrounding tribes, and the latter were glad to aid the Spaniards when promised release from Aztec tyranny. (4) The Spaniards' horses, armor, and firearms excited superstitious fear among the Indians. There was a Mexican tradition of a fair-faced god whose coming had been predicted, and this went far toward securing submission during the earlier stages of the conquest. (5) The consummate skill of Cortez in his negotiations with the natives, was an important factor in this easy victory. (6) Everywhere the Spanish abolished the practice of human sacrifice, and this gained them much favor from the masses of the people, who were tired of its horrors.

Similar experiences awaited the Spaniards who, a decade later (1531–1533), conquered Peru under the leadership of the brothers Pizarro. By tactics similar to those of Cortez, they got possession of the country and seized immense quantities of treasure.

Explorations North of the Gulf of Mexico.

The success of Cortez in Mexico excited in Narvaez the ambition to conquer the region immediately north of the Gulf of Mexico. After a vain attempt to find, in northern Florida, cities where gold and food were abundant, Narvaez and his men, having lost their ships, sailed in extemporized boats westward on the Gulf. Before the Texan coast was reached Narvaez and all but four of his company had perished. The survivors, one of whom was De Vaca, passed eight years among the Indians in the region north of Mexico before reaching the Spanish settlement on the Gulf of California. (See map, p. 18.)

Coronado.

Already stories had reached the Spaniards, of seven wealthy cities north of Mexico, and now the story told by De Vaca, revealing the existence of a vast, unexplored region in that direction, fired the ambition of Coronado. In 1540 Coronado's expedition advanced northward from a point on the Gulf of California. The seven cities of "Cibola," where gold and silver were supposed to exist in abundance were soon found to be nothing but the pueblos

of the Zuñi Indians. Later, the cañon of the Colorado River was reached; then, turning eastward, the explorers advanced probably as far as the centre of Kansas. But there were no wealthy cities here. Coronado returned to the city of Mexico, "very sad, very weary, completely worn out and shamefaced."

De Soto
From Espagnols Illustres. Madrid, 1726

De Soto had been one of the conquerors of Peru, and was eager to rival the deeds of the Pizarros. His expedition, landing at Tampa Bay in 1539, wandered for three years northward into the foothills of the Alleghanies, and westward beyond the Mississippi River.* From each Indian tribe they demanded food, slaves, and guidance to the land of gold. Everywhere their inhumanity to the natives made the latter hostile; the attacks of the Indians and the hardships of the journey wore away the numbers of the invaders. Finally, when they returned to the Mississippi River, after having traversed the region of Arkansas, De Soto himself died. The survivors of this expedition floated down the great river and reached Spanish settlements on the Texan coast.

Spanish success and failure.

We note a great contrast between the experiences of De Soto, Narvaez, and Coronado, on the one hand, and those of Cortez and Pizarro on the other. The results in each case were fraught with the greatest consequences, not only for the countries invaded and for Spain, but for the future

* Pineda (see p. 19) is thought by some authorities to have sailed for a short distance up the Mississippi River, and so to be its discoverer (1519). A river called Rio de Santo Espiritu, and corresponding in location to the Mississippi, is found on maps published before the date of De Soto's exploration.

United States as well. Compare the conditions that account for the easy conquest of Mexico and Peru with conditions existing north of Mexico and the Gulf. (1) Here were found Indian tribes lower in the stage of barbarism, and consequently more intractable and warlike. (2) These Indians could abandon their villages and, secure in their native forests, could continue indefinitely the struggle against the Spaniards. (3) There was no gold in this region, and consequently the Spanish were not permanently attracted to it; for it was conquest, and not colonization, that they were bent upon. The wealth of Mexico and Peru lured all adventurers to those lands, and for them the slow and toilsome process of founding agricultural colonies had no charms.* Spanish colonization, therefore, took but slight hold upon the regions now included within the bounds of the United States.

Spanish colonial policy.

By the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in 1479, the Spanish nation became consolidated. The political tendency of this process was towards the centralization of the national government. Moreover, there was necessity for a strong monarchy to enforce order in the kingdom and to push the wars against the Moors. Thus there developed in Spain a centralized, absolute monarchy; and absolutism is the keynote to her colonial policy. The royal power in Spain was advised and assisted by numerous councils, each having jurisdiction over certain matters; so the acquisition of colonial dependencies led naturally to the establishment of the "Council for the Indies," which had complete control over political affairs in America. A similar body, the "India House" (*Casa de Contratacion*), controlled all trade between the colonies and Spain. Viceroys and governors were appointed to reside in the colonies; the military government of these officers was checked in some measure by the authority

Government.

* It may be said, however, that, had the latter been their ambition, they still might have occupied the more southern lands, since these produced the commodities that were in most demand in Europe.

of courts (*audiencias*) that had administrative as well as judicial functions. Self-government, however, existed in a small degree in the Spanish cities of the New World; for here there existed municipal councils composed of citizens who were at first elected, but who afterward obtained their offices by inheritance or purchase.

Industry.

Industrially, Spain's policy was one of monopoly and restriction. Every encouragement was given to the mining of gold and silver, and many measures were enacted for the promotion of agriculture; but the production of certain crops (hemp, flax, saffron, and the olive), was restricted because these products were raised in Spain. In the West Indies agriculture was depressed because of Spain's restrictive commercial policy. Ships might sail to America only from Seville or Cadiz, and then only under royal license. But two fleets were allowed to sail annually. These measures limited both the means of transportation and the market for agricultural products, and depression of prices resulted. For two centuries these and many other commercial regulations hampered the trade between Spain and America. On the mainland, however, farming and grazing flourished and became the

A Spanish Mission Church

principal occupation of a prosperous and contented population of Spaniards, Indians, and mixed peoples.

Religion and education.

Prominent among the motives of Columbus and many of his successors in the New World was the Christianizing of the Indians. Both explorers and conquerors were enjoined by the Spanish authorities to convert the Indians. The Church was early established, and its authority was scarcely distinguishable from that of the State. Schools and colleges were also founded. Efforts were made to enforce industry and sobriety among the Indians and to protect them against maltreatment by the whites. In spite of these good intentions on the part of the Spanish Government, however, the dealings of their colonists with the natives, during the early period, were characterized by the utmost cruelty. Upon this point, Spanish rule was absolute only in theory: practically, the colonists nullified the regulations of the home government.

Relations with the Indians.

Several reasons account for this condition: (1) We might expect that the adventurers who seek a new country, bent upon the quest for gold, would be harsh, and careless of the rights of the simple-minded natives. (2) The standards of the sixteenth century in human matters were distinctly lower than the standards of to-day. (3) The efforts of many Spanish colonists in America to live without manual labor, and the constant demand from the authorities in Spain for "more gold," led inevitably to the establishment of slavery. When land was divided among the conquerors, each was also given oversight of a certain number of natives from whom he might exact service. This was an easy step toward slavery. The efforts of the priest Las Casas during half a century, and the enactment of regulations by the home government to mitigate the evils of Indian slavery were futile. The enforced labor of the natives in the mines depopulated the larger islands of the West Indies, and led directly to the importation of negro slaves from Africa. In the interior of Mexico and Peru, however, the climate did not favor industries in which slave labor was profitable, and the institution died out.

Finally, when the Spanish intermarried with the natives they showed their willingness "to descend from their European standard of civilization and to affiliate with them

on a lower plane." There resulted a compromise in religious and political institutions which was not an improvement over those brought from the Old World. We have here one of the reasons why the Spanish American peoples have not progressed more rapidly.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. General accounts. Thwaites, The Colonies, 27–34; 45–48. Fisher, The Colonial Era, 16–22. Higginson, Larger History of the United States, 68–74. Parkman, Pioneers of France, 9–19.

2. Contemporary accounts. (*a*) Coronado's description of the Seven Cities of Cibola, in his letter to Mendoza. Old South Leaflets, No. 20, 8–10. (*b*) Cortez's description of the city of Mexico, Old South Leaflets, No. 35. (*c*) One of De Soto's companions describes the manner of his death. Old South Leaflets, No. 36. (*d*) De Vaca's description of his wanderings, Old South Leaflets, No. 39. (*e*) Hart, Contemporaries, I. Cortez, No. 21. Pizarro, No. 22. De Soto, No. 23. Coronado, No. 24 (*f*) Hart, Source Book, Coronado, 6–8.

3. Bancroft, I. De Leon, 22–24. Ayllon and Gomez, 25–27. Narvaez and De Vaca, 27–31. Coronado, 31–37. De Soto, 38–49.

4. Drake, Making of the Great West. De Soto, 10–20. Relations with the Indians, 21–28. Coronado, 28–39. The Indians of New Mexico and their pueblos, 39–52.

5. King's De Soto in the Land of the Floridas is excellent, following closely one of the original narratives of the expedition.

6. Fiske, Discovery of America, I. Mexican pueblos, 84–97. (Illustrations of pueblos are here, and in Higginson, 2–9.) Indian society in Mexico, 97–102. Vol. II, Legend of the fair-faced god, 234–239. Cortez, 245–262. Mexico City, 262–274. De Leon, 485–486. Pineda, 486–487. Ayllon and Gomez, 490–492. Narvaez and De Vaca, 500–502. Coronado, 502–509. De Soto, 509–510. Magellan, 184–211. Balboa, 365–384. Pizarro, 390–409; 421–426.

7. Las Casas and Indian slavery. Fiske, II, chap. 11 Bourne, Spain in Amer'ca, 253–264.

8. For accounts of Spanish exploration and colonization, see James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 2.

9. Fiction. Wallace, The Fair God. Haggard, Montezuma's Daughter.

CHAPTER III

THE RIVALRY OF NATIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A new commercial era.

The discovery of America in 1492 and the opening of the Portuguese route to India in 1497–1498 mark an epoch in the world's history. The new discoveries wrought a revolution in geographical ideas. There was an increase of maritime activity; and at this time began the removal of commercial centres from their old seat in the Mediterranean countries to the Atlantic coasts of Europe.

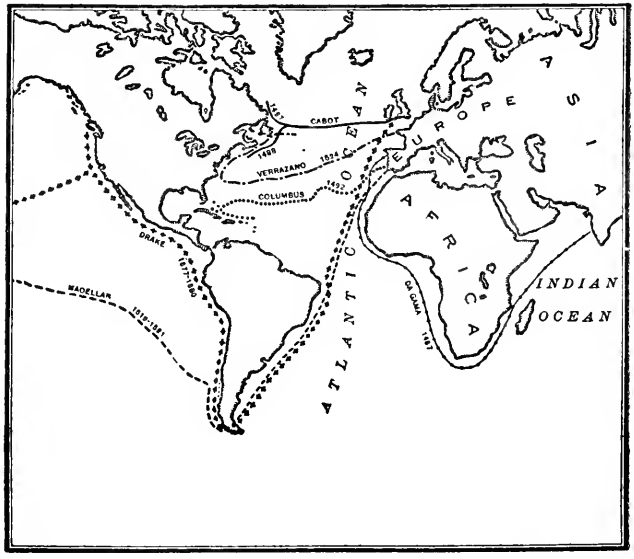
The beginning of English exploration in America.

When Bartholomew Columbus went to England in the interests of his brother, maritime discovery had received some attention in that country, especially at the port of Bristol. Here resided John Cabot, who, like Columbus, was a native of Genoa. In 1497 he obtained a patent from Henry VII authorizing him to make a voyage across the Atlantic. Cabot was an experienced navigator; he had been on many voyages and had travelled as far eastward as Mecca in Arabia, where he had seen the caravans arrive from India. His present ambition was to find a water route by which the wealth of the East might pour into English ports.

The Cabot voyages.

It is not known where Cabot first saw America—whether at Labrador, Newfoundland, or Cape Breton Island. This land he called Cathay. The success of the first voyage led to a second in 1498, upon which he was probably accompanied by his son Sebastian. Of this voyage little is positively known, and nothing is known concerning the return of Cabot or his subsequent history. Henry VII re-

warded him with payments from the treasury; and in the following years the king made loans to numerous "merchants of Bristol that have been in the Newe founde Lande." The most direct result following Cabot's voyages was the encouragement given to the Newfoundland



The Outward Voyages of Great Explorers

fisheries; here not only English but also Portuguese, Spanish, and French fishermen swarmed in great numbers.

French voyages.

In the time of Columbus, the greatest rival of Spain in European politics was France. It was under the powerful Francis I (the defeated rival of Charles V when the latter was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire), that France first contested the right of Spain to monopolize the fruits of American discovery. French seamen began to plunder the Spanish treasure ships as they returned

from America. One of these corsairs was Verrazano, a native of Florence, who captured vessels that carried gold from the city of Mexico. Francis I now sent Verrazano to find a passage-way to China. He reached the coast of South Carolina in 1524 and proceeded northward, carefully exploring the coast as far as New Hampshire. Verrazano

Everywhere he searched for gold, the presence of which was "denoted by the color of the ground." As a result of this voyage, certain contemporaneous maps show the western coast of North America deeply indented by an arm of the Pacific Ocean, leaving an isthmus in the latitude of Chesapeake Bay. This encouraged in other navigators the belief in an easy passage to the Pacific Ocean.

Delayed by his European wars against Charles V, it was ten years before Francis sent another explorer, Jacques Cartier, to explore the waters lying beyond Newfoundland and to take possession of American territory. The voyages of Cartier in 1534 and 1535 carried him up the St. Lawrence River as far as Montreal. An attempt to plant a colony in this region, made by Cartier and Roberval in the years 1540–1543, was a failure. With this event the French Government ceased its activity in American colonization for the remainder of the sixteenth century. Little encouragement had resulted from the attempts narrated above; no gold had been found, the winter climate was severe, and the Indians were hostile. Moreover, the struggle with Spain in Europe absorbed the energies of the French people, and when that was ended their attention was given to those internal struggles known as the Huguenot wars (1562–1598). An attempt to colonize. Cessation of French activity in America.

The rise of the Protestants, known as Huguenots, in France was contemporaneous with the Reformation movements in Germany and England. Persecution and the beginning of civil war made the Huguenots look beyond the Atlantic for a refuge. A settlement at Port Royal (South Carolina) in 1562 was unsuccessful, and in 1564 another was made at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida. This was not only a direct insult to the Spanish Government, but the establishment of a colony at The Huguenots on the Atlantic coast.

this point was a serious menace to Spanish interests; for it would constitute a base of operations against Spanish towns and treasure fleets.* Consequently, at the very time when Jean Ribaut was sailing with a fleet to reënforce this colony, a Spanish captain, Menendez, was hastening across the ocean commissioned to destroy it and to establish in Florida a permanent military station and colony. The thrilling and bloody story of how Menendez accomplished his double purpose, massacring the French and founding St. Augustine in 1565 (the oldest settlement within the limits of the United States), cannot be told here.

Spain lost her opportunity on the Atlantic coast of North America.

These were events of vital importance in American history. There was at stake no less a matter than the occupation by European nations of the Atlantic coast. Whose should it be, for colonization and westward expansion? Temporarily the Spanish were in control, but they were destined to go no farther in this direction. Except in the extreme west (among the Rocky Mountains and along the Pacific coast) Spanish colonies made no further progress within the limits of the present United States. This was due partly to the nature of the country and partly to the fact that Spain, in the closing years of the sixteenth century, was industrially on the decline. The enormous acquisition of wealth from the American mines discouraged, rather than stimulated, sober industry at home. Moreover, by the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews, Spain lost a most valuable contingent of her laboring population. Consequently, American gold was sent abroad to pay for imported goods, and other countries gained the economic advantage of supplying her population, and that of her colonies, with manufactures and luxuries. Besides, the wars conducted by Charles V and Philip II exhausted Spain's revenues and weakened her power.

Reasons for the inactivity of England.

We are now ready to ask, why did English interest in American exploration, which apparently made such a promising beginning in the voyages of the Cabots, die out in the years that followed? (1) An immediate reason is

* Already French Protestant seamen had plundered and burned Havana (1555) and pillaged Porto Rico (1559).

found in the fact that by the Cabot voyages neither gold nor wealthy cities were discovered. (2) England was not at this time a commercial nation. Her foreign trade was carried on by foreign merchants—those of Venice and the Hansa towns. (3) In the year 1500 England was one of the backward nations of Europe. The quickening of thought and the rise of the adventurous spirit that mark the Renaissance movement came to England later, in connection with the great events that occurred during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

Sir Francis Drake
From a print in the British Museum

The middle of the sixteenth century saw the rise in England of a new interest in America. (1) Improvements in the art of shipbuilding gave Englishmen an advantage in the coming competition with other nations. (2) In the Newfoundland fisheries the hardy sailors of the western and southern towns had received a training that gave the English people their "sea legs." (3) The Reformation in England, *i. e.*, the breach with the Church of Rome under Henry VIII, resulted later in an intense religious strife between England and Spain—the militant arm of the Church.

A new era in English history.

(4) The rising commercial and maritime spirit in England and the religious rivalry with Spain both contributed toward the creation of that "keen national feeling" which was a prominent characteristic of Elizabethan times

Early English seamen and their exploits.

The rise of these new conditions in England explains the increasing boldness of Englishmen upon the high seas. About 1560 John Hawkins began his slaving voyages from the west coast of Africa to the West Indies. This traffic was against Spanish law, and a few years later he was attacked, and his fleet was badly disabled in a harbor on the coast of Mexico. One of the captains of this fleet was Francis Drake. In 1572 Drake commanded an expedition to the Isthmus of Panama, where he raided Spanish towns, attacked Spanish vessels, and captured treasure that came by this route overland from Peru. Here he first saw the Pacific Ocean, and he resolved to sail on its waters.

Francis Drake.

Accordingly, he set forth in 1577 with a well-equipped fleet of five vessels. Once having passed the Strait of Magellan, he followed the coast northward, plundering vessels and sailing into harbors to pick up stores of gold and silver. He sailed as far north as Oregon, took possession of the country for England, calling it New Albion, and then crossed the Pacific. He reached England safely (1580) with but one of his five vessels. Besides being one of the boldest voyages in American history, this expedition of Drake went far to hasten the open declaration of hostilities between England and Spain which came within a few years.

English efforts to open commerce with Asia.

Meanwhile, the interests of sober commerce were pressing for recognition. With the expansion of English commerce in Europe, the desire to participate in the trade with India and China became stronger. The Portuguese monopolized the route around Africa, and the Spaniards claimed sole proprietorship of that around South America. Could not Englishmen reach the East by a northern and hence a shorter route—by a "north-west passage"? Such was the idea of Frobisher in sailing into the waters now known as Frobisher's Bay (1576–1578). Later, 1585–1587, John Davis made three similar voyages.*

* It was not until 1903–1906 that Captain Admundsen first sailed a vessel the entire distance around the northern end of North America. The Century Magazine, February, 1907, 625.

This enterprising Elizabethan age saw the beginnings of English colonial ambition. To establish colonies in America would further several objects. (1) In the minds of Englishmen, American soil sparkled with flakes of gold. (2) American colonies would constitute half-way stations on the long voyages to Asia. (3) They would also constitute bases of operation against Spain in the New World. The capture of Spanish gold was one means of "putting a bridle upon Spain." Thus might England defeat the European ambitions of that nation, *i. e.*, the subduing of Holland and the possible conquest of England. Such were the motives that stirred the first English colonizers.

Reasons for establishing American colonies.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert

In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert founded in Newfoundland a colony that was unfortunate from the beginning; sickness and desertion reduced their numbers, and Gilbert, sailing to England to obtain help, was himself lost in mid-ocean. Raleigh, his half-brother, was strongly imbued with the spirit of colonization, and in 1584 he sent an expedition to make preparations for the planting of a colony. The region found was reputed to be "the most plentiful,

Early attempts at colonization.

sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world," and "the people the most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden Age." Such was the description of the Carolina coast, thereupon named by Elizabeth, Virginia. In 1585, Raleigh sent thither a company of more than one hundred men under Ralph Lane and Sir Richard Grenville, and a colony was established on Roanoke Island. The search for gold and for the South Sea constituted their chief occupation for a year, until hunger drove them to return to England. In 1587, Raleigh sent to America another colony, including both men and women, under John White. These, too, shortly needed help from home; but a threatened Spanish invasion, soon to be described, prevented reënforcements from leaving England, and when, in 1591, the relief finally arrived the colony had disappeared.

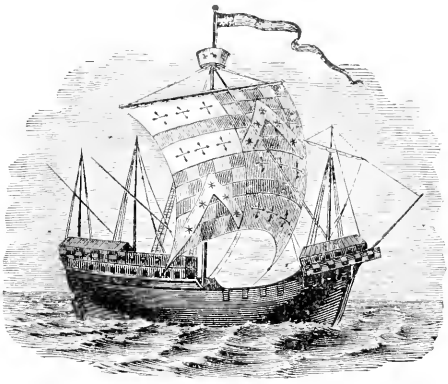
Reasons for failure

Thus ended the earliest English attempts to found colonies in America. To what was the failure owing? (1) Both Raleigh and Gilbert erred in selecting their colonists; some of them were criminals, and all were fired by a "restless curiosity and a passion for adventure." (2) The search for gold had led to the neglect of agriculture. The American coast did not furnish sustenance without cultivation, and the Indians could not be depended upon to retain a friendly spirit toward colonists who constantly violated their rights. (3) There was about these attempts at colonization an air of romance that was characteristic of the Elizabethan period. These men had no practical acquaintance with the means of sustaining life in a wild country.

The Spanish Armada

While the events above described were in progress, other events in Europe brought to a culmination the rising hostility between England and Spain. Philip II determined upon the conquest of England, and in 1588 the Great Armada sailed with the purpose of landing an army on the shores of England. They were met in the Channel

by the ships of English seamen, which were of superior construction and fighting power. Their skilful attacks soon disabled the Armada, which, sailing into the North Sea, escaped around the British Isles, losing many of its vessels, and, what was worse, the courage of its seamen. Thus the maritime power of Spain received a most serious blow.* The moral effect of this victory † upon the English was correspondingly profound. More than ever they dared to compete with Spain on the seas.



Ship of the Sixteenth Century

The effect upon American history is readily seen. Upon the Atlantic coast the English people were now free to follow their commercial and colonizing ambitions unhampered by the dread of Spanish interference. "Nowhere on the surface of the earth was there a region better fitted for European colonization. Frenchmen and Spaniards passed it by as offering slight hope of present gain. A higher power reserved it for the slower, more patient Englishman and his kinsfolk from northern Europe. . . . Their mission was to plant a nation in the New World."‡

How England's victories affected American history.

* "Under the inspiration of this tremendous victory the Atlantic Ocean during the next three years swarmed with English cruisers, and more than eight hundred Spanish ships fell victims to their attacks." Tyler, England in America, 30.

† Add to this a second victory, when a Spanish fleet was destroyed in the harbor of Cadiz (1596).

‡ Channing, History of the United States, I, 110.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. The Cabots. Make a list of the disputed questions in the Cabot history. What was the subsequent history of Sebastian Cabot? Fiske, Discovery of America, II, 1–16. Higginson, Larger History of the United States, 75–84. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 26. Old South Leaflets, Nos. 37, 115.

2. Early French explorers. Higginson, 108–120. Thwaites, The Colonies, 32–36. Fisher, The Colonial Era, 20–23. Bancroft, History of United States, I, 14–17. Fiske, New France and New England, 1–12.

3. Verrazano's Voyage. Old South Leaflets, No. 17, 1–12. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, I, 58–68. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 34. Parkman, Pioneers of France, 193–199.

4. Cartier. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 35. Fiske, New France and New England, 13–24. Parkman, Pioneers, 200–215.

5. The Huguenot colony in Florida. Parkman, Pioneers, chaps. 7 and 8. Bancroft, I, 50–59.

6. England's war with Spain and the Armada. See histories of England. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 35–40.

7. Hawkins and Drake. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 15–28. Higginson, 84–101. Drake's voyage around the world. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 30. Hawkins's slave voyages. *Ibid.*, I, No. 29. Drake on the California coast. Old South Leaflets, No. 116. Tyler, England in America, 9–13.

8. Gilbert and Raleigh. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 28–40. Later History of Raleigh. *Ibid.*, I, 52–55. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 33. Higginson, 104–107; 137–140.

9. Who was Richard Hakluyt and what were his arguments in favor of colonization? Eggleston, Beginners of a Nation, 5–6. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 41–50. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 46. Other reasons are stated in Hart, I, 154–157. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 26–32.

10. Make a list of mistaken ideas about America. Eggleston, Beginners, chap. 1.

11. Raleigh's colonies. Bancroft, I, 69–79. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 32. Tyler, England in America, 21–33.

12. Further accounts are found in James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 3.

CHAPTER IV

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

The new commerce

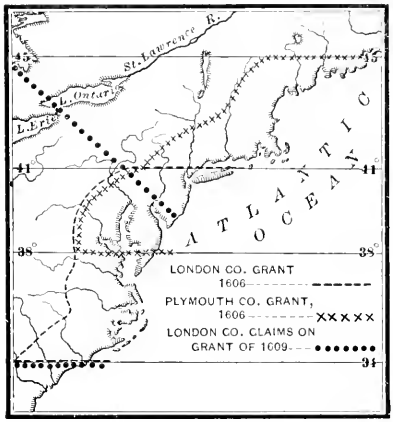
In the period of one hundred years which immediately succeeded the discovery of America, Spain and Portugal alone had become successful colonizing nations; though from England, France, and Holland bold seamen and ambitious colonizers had set forth. It is evident that the sixteenth century brought about a complete revolution in the world's commerce. The Atlantic, and not the Mediterranean, was now the center of activity; the nations of western Europe took the place of the cities of southern Europe as centers of foreign trade. The new route to the East brought increased supplies of Eastern products, which were thereby much cheapened; and from the Americans now came new products—fish, furs, dyewoods, sugar, and tobacco, besides untold quantities of precious metals and stones.

The rise of Trading Companies.

Commerce, at the end of the sixteenth century, was on a much larger scale than ever before, as the voyages were longer. Something more than private enterprise was therefore required, and in the case of Spain and Portugal this was supplied by complete national control of commercial ventures. Each government endeavored to secure for its citizens a monopoly of trade with its colonies. In the northern European countries, on the other hand, the national governments were not ready to assume such absolute control of the new commerce; hence we find, especially in England, France, and Holland, the phenomenon of *trading companies* formed in large numbers during the years under discussion. These companies represented

combinations of capital, the investors being chartered by the government and empowered to carry on trade, establish colonies, and build up the maritime interests of the countries concerned.

Companies were formed in England for the conduct of trade with the Baltic countries, Russia (the Muscovy Company, 1555), the eastern Mediterranean countries (the Levant Company, 1581), Africa (the Guinea Company, 1588), and India (the East India Company, 1600). Thus was the Old World trade divided among the enterprising English merchants.* It was natural that they should wish in the same way to share in the American trade. So we find the organization of companies for trade and colonization in "Virginia" (1606), Guiana (1609), Newfoundland (1610), and Bermuda (1612).



Grants made to the London and Plymouth Companies

The London and Plymouth companies of 1606.

Under the charter of 1606 two great companies were formed whose purpose was "to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America." † It was from the efforts of these

* Similar companies, for the development of trade in the same geographical regions, were organized in France and Holland, and several such existed in Sweden and Denmark.

† For this charter, see Preston, Documents Illustrative of American History, 2–13. MacDonald, Select Charters, 1–10

American companies that the first permanent English colony grew upon the soil of the New World.

Several of the men to whom the charter was granted by James I held rank and title in English official life, and a few were merchants. They formed two groups: the first, which came to be known as the London Company, might establish a colony on the Atlantic coast between 34° and 41° north latitude; the other was known as the Plymouth Company, and was to colonize between the parallels 38° and 45°. Within the three degrees of latitude where these grants overlapped, when either company planted a colony, the other was not to plant another nearer than one hundred miles from it.

The motives of their founders.

What were the motives that led to this enterprise? The forces that moved Englishmen to action in the later years of Elizabeth's reign were still active: England must guard herself against the power of Spain, and one sure way of doing this was to establish military and naval stations in America. The glory of England, too, must be enhanced by the expansion of her trade and by the possession of foreign lands. The way to China would surely be discovered, and then commerce and the products of American mines would enrich the nation as Spain had been enriched.

Industrial reasons for colonization.

To these larger aims were added others of a soberer and more immediately practical character: (1) The commercial activity which would be fostered by the possession of colonies was expected to create a great merchant marine; this, in turn, must increase England's naval strength. (2) England would be more independent and self-reliant if the naval stores which she then obtained from the Baltic countries could be furnished by her own colonies. (3) Many other products which England was obliged to import might be produced in those colonies; among these were glass, soap, and tropical products, such as silk, spices, and wine. On the other hand, England was manufacturing a surplus of woollen goods, and these might be exchanged for the articles just mentioned. Thus, it was argued, Englishmen would not need to send

coin abroad and their wealth would grow accordingly. (4) An economic condition had arisen in England which demanded an outlet for surplus population. The condition of agricultural laborers, especially, had changed for the worse; for while prices were increasing, with the influx of large quantities of the precious metals, there had been no corresponding rise in wages. At this time, too, many farmers were converting their grain fields into sheep pastures to meet the great demand for wool; this decreased the demand for labor. In this enumeration of the motives that lay behind the colonizing movement of which the London and Plymouth companies were the outcome, we recognize the features of a "practical commercial undertaking." We may add to these the religious purpose, more constantly stated than acted upon, of "propagating the Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and worship of God."

Early Settlements in Virginia and Maryland
Dots indicate the location of plantations on the James river

Conditions surrounding the first settlement.

In 1607, the London Company sent to Virginia 120 men as colonists. Jamestown, where they settled, was situated on a small, sandy peninsula jutting into the James River from its north shore; it was, therefore, "low, damp, and malarious." Add to these disadvantages the hostility of the Indians, and we see the unfavorable circumstances under which the enterprise was launched.

Defects of government.

But this was not all. The scheme under which the new colony was to be managed proved to be impractical. Complete control of both companies was placed by the charter in the hands of a council appointed by the King and resident in England. The immediate government of the colony was placed in the hands of a council, also appointed by the King, consisting of thirteen colonists. This body had a president, but the first to occupy that office—Wingfield—proved his incapacity for executive work, and the result was jealousy, dissension, and all the evils that accrue when weak men in a hazardous position lack a leader who can exercise firm control. There was a leader in the colony, however, and gradually the direction of matters fell into his hands. John Smith, "the one energetic and capable man in these first years," compelled the men to labor; for, he said, "he that will not worke shall not eat, unless by sicknesse he be disabled." He skilfully obtained corn from the Indians when the settlers were starving, and he compelled the systematic planting of corn. He maintained the military strength of Jamestown by drilling the men and building fortifications.

The instructions of the London Company to the settlers included the following: "You must observe if you can whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake the passage to the other sea [the Pacific Ocean] will be the more easy. . . ." Following these instructions Smith made a series of explorations up Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac, and other rivers of Virginia. His map of Virginia became the authoritative map of this region for more than a century.

Reorganization.

After Smith's departure for England (1609), conditions in the colony grew worse. Their numbers fell from more than 600 to 60, and these were abandoning Jamestown when they were met by a ship from England bringing reënforcements and, what was as important, a governor, Lord Delaware, vested with ample powers to rule the colony. There had been (1609), a reorganization of the London Company under a new charter. Instead of the

local council, the colony was now under the autocratic rule of a governor appointed by the council in England. Under this charter the limits of the land grant were made two hundred miles each way along the coast from Point Comfort and extending "up into the land, throughout, from sea to sea, west and north-west." (See map, p. 38.) In 1612, the second charter was superseded by a third, under which the Company was given complete control over its colony.

Tobacco.

The high price of tobacco in England and Holland made labor six times as remunerative when devoted to that product as when applied to the raising of grains. Moreover, tobacco was less bulky than other products and consequently less expensive to ship. The systematic cultivation of tobacco began in 1612, and the success of the venture gave the colony a sure economic basis and greatly encouraged its settlement.

The London Company's scheme for profits.

The members of the London Company expected to make a profit from their investment, (1) by selling commodities to the colonists, (2) by selling at a profit whatever the colonists produced, (3) by the collection of duties upon goods shipped into the colony by other traders. In order that the second source of income might be realized, all products raised in the colony must be put into a common storehouse; from this and from supplies sent over by the Company, the inhabitants were to receive their maintenance. If any surplus product remained this was to be the Company's profit. Since under this plan there was no individual ownership of land or of products, we have a true "plantation" system: the colonists were servants or laborers under the authority of the Company, whose work was supervised by overseers. The system was intended as a temporary measure only, to be in operation while the colony was being firmly established. Experience proved that it was a direct inducement for the lazy and the shiftless to become dependents rather than self-supporting members of the colony. In 1614 Governor Dale began

the abolition of this communal system by assigning to some of the men three acres apiece which they were to hold as tenants and upon which they might raise enough for their support.

The land system in Virginia.

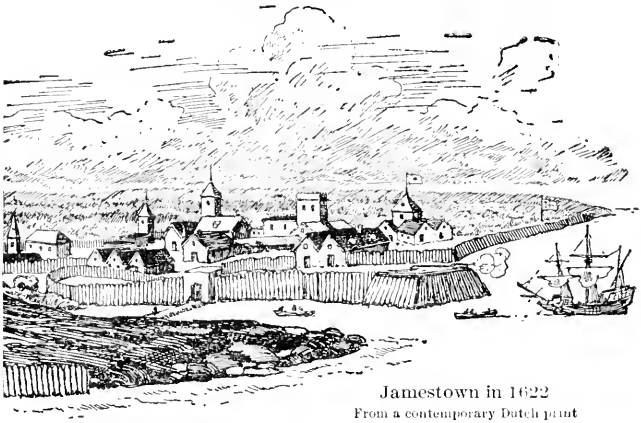
When the London Company's "plantation" method of control in the colony gave way, some $2,000,000 had been expended, and very small returns had been realized upon the investment. Henceforth, settlers were regularly given grants of land. This came about in several ways: (1) Settlers who had labored for the Company a certain number of years were entitled to 100 acres of land as a dividend. (2) Investors in the Company's stock (called "adventurers") were entitled to the same amount of land for each share purchased, the shares being worth £12, 10 s. each. (3) Large grants were made to individuals on condition of their transporting to America servants and materials for the cultivation of an estate or "hundred." (4) Any colonist or any "adventurer" who should bear the expense of transporting a laborer to the colony (provided he remained three years) was entitled to fifty acres of land immediately and as much later. This was called a "head right." In these ways the land of Virginia came finally to be held under private ownership—a most important fact in the economic development of the colony.

The importation of women and slaves.

The year 1619 is remarkable in the history of Virginia. In that year arrived the first ship load of young women, who became the wives of settlers. We see here the distinct recognition of the value of the home as an element in colonization. The demand for laborers to clear the forests and to care for the tobacco crop was largely satisfied through the employment of indentured servants. These came from several classes: (1) There was a surplus of laborers in England; consequently, many poor people had their passage to America paid by planters and in return bound themselves to terms of service, generally extending four or six years. (2) Owing to hard conditions of life in England, vagabonds and beggars were numerous and troublesome. (3) Again, the penal laws of England were extremely harsh and the prisons overflowed with convicts. These, together with the vagabonds and the child waifs of London's streets, were transported to America on the order of the authorities, becoming indentured servants. Many of the servants were of good

Indentured servants.

character; some were well educated; others were of the worst sort; the great majority probably became useful citizens upon the termination of their terms of service. The supply of labor was further increased by the importation of slaves. The first shipload arrived in 1619, when a Dutch ship anchored at Jamestown with twenty native Africans whom the planters purchased. Later more slaves were brought into Virginia and other colonies and the slave trade became recognized as a branch of legitimate commerce. English and New England ships were the carriers.



Jamestown in 1622
From a contemporary Dutch print

The London Company and representative government.

The year 1619 also saw the establishment of the system of representative government in Virginia. The London Company was a commercial corporation; but under the charters of 1609 and 1612 it was vested with powers of government over its colony.* In 1609, there were more than six hundred stockholders, and this number was later increased by the accession of several hundred merchants

* England and other European countries have, within recent years, chartered commercial companies and granted to them powers of government over newly settled regions. Examples are found in the British East Africa and British South Africa companies and the German West Africa Company. At many points the partition of Africa within recent years resembles the process followed in the early history of America.

and craftsmen of London. Then, by the charter of 1612, the stockholders were given the right to hold weekly meetings, besides four "general courts" each year for the election of officers. Now, it happened that among the stockholders were many influential men of liberal views who were opposed to the policy of James I in the government of England; to these men the meetings of the London Company gave opportunity for free discussion and sharp criticism of the royal policy. In 1618, the Company ordered that the authority of the governor in Virginia should be limited by a council (composed of councillors selected by the Company), and a representative body which took the name House of Burgesses. The latter was composed of two burgesses elected by popular vote from each plantation or settlement (eleven in number), and met first in 1619.

The charter annulled.

King James naturally disliked the Company; enemies of the Company in England criticised it for mismanagement of the colony; so, in 1624, the King caused his attorney-general to bring suit against it, in consequence of which the court declared the charter void. The Company then ceased to exist, and thenceforth the King appointed the governor. The House of Burgesses did not pass out of existence, but continued throughout colonial history.

Prosperity in Virginia

During the fifteen years succeeding the overthrow of the London Company, Virginia increased rapidly in population. The tobacco industry became the permanent basis of prosperity; it created a demand for labor which brought thousands of poor people to the colony, while the ease of acquiring land was an inducement for the migration of an intelligent and progressive element who became planters. Population spread rapidly up the broad rivers, because tobacco exhausted the soil; laws intended to compel the building of cities were disregarded; and the broad waterways of Virginia became lined with plantations at whose wharves ocean-going vessels could discharge and receive cargoes

MARYLAND

Baltimore's efforts to colonize.

Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a man of ability and of considerable prominence during the reign of James I, had been a member of the London Company. His interest in colonization was shown when, in 1621, he attempted unsuccessfully to found a colony on the coast of Newfoundland.* He then attempted to settle in Virginia, but because he was a Roman Catholic, life there was made unpleasant for him, and he returned to England. He now (1632) sought and obtained a grant of land north of Virginia, extending to the fortieth degree of latitude, where he could be free to found his colony. He died shortly before the patent was executed, but his son Cecil at once took up his father's work and founded Maryland, named in honor of the Queen, Henrietta Maria.

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore
After a painting by Daniel Mytens.

Physical conditions in Maryland.

The first settlement in Maryland was at St. Mary's on Chesapeake Bay in 1634. The physical features of Maryland resemble closely those of Virginia; in both, the mild climate, rich soil, and level lands stretching back to the foothills of the mountains furnished ideal conditions in which to build an agricultural colony. Moreover, the wide-mouthed rivers and the many bays and inlets gave

* The project of colonizing Newfoundland reminds us of Gilbert's efforts some forty years previous. Englishmen had still to learn that the climate of these coasts was much colder than that of European countries in the same latitude. Newfoundland is directly west of northern France and southern England, and Jamestown in Virginia corresponds in latitude to northern Africa. Hence the expectation that Virginia should produce semi-tropical products.

such freedom of access to the interior that here, as in Virginia, large plantations were laid out. Tobacco was at first the staple product, and here, too, it was planted in excess, and the value of the plant fell very low. The division of land.

Distinct encouragement was given to the formation of large plantations. An emigrant who came to Maryland bringing twenty able-bodied men well armed for defence was given a large grant of land—not less than 1,000 acres. Many estates existed, each containing thousands of acres. Another law had the opposite tendency, in providing that every indentured servant (these were especially numerous in Maryland), was entitled to fifty acres at the end of his term of service. Thus many of the large estates became broken up.

Maryland was the earliest successful colony under a single proprietor. The authority vested in the proprietor of Maryland greatly exceeded that previously given to any grantee of land in America. He was, in theory, the absolute lord of his colony; his authority being limited by the requirement that his government should be in conformity with the laws of England and that he should yield allegiance to the King. All grants of land proceeded from him. Lord Baltimore did not personally visit the colony, but appointed a governor instead. The early governors were of the Baltimore family, and this contributed to the success of the colony. The government of Maryland.

The rights of the proprietor were limited by a provision of the charter requiring that the laws of the colony should be made "by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies." The earliest assembly summoned by the governor in accordance with this provision was in the nature of a primary assembly, being attended by as many of the freemen of the colony as found it convenient. In subsequent years, as settlements and plantations became more scattered, comparatively few of the freemen attended; some sent proxies, that is, Growth of a representative assembly

delegated their votes to those who did attend. Later, deputies were elected to the assembly from the different settlements, called hundreds. Thus came about a truly representative system.

Religious conditions in the colony.

An important motive in the settlement of Maryland was the desire of Lord Baltimore to establish a place of refuge for Roman Catholics, who were persecuted in England. He was, of course, desirous to make the exercise of the Roman Catholic faith perfectly free in his colony. It was evidently impracticable to exclude other religions, even had he desired to do so. From the beginning he encouraged Protestant settlers to migrate to Maryland; for he saw that otherwise there would not be sufficient numbers to insure its success. He also exerted his influence to bring about peaceful relations between the adherents of different faiths; religious dissension might lead to the forfeiture of the charter and thus to the financial ruin of the proprietor. It is evident that Lord Baltimore was not the founder of religious toleration as a principle; but that he endeavored, in a broad-minded way, to find a practical solution for the situation as it existed in his colony

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2. The motives for colonization. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 44–50. Eggleston, Beginners of a Nation, 73–86; 89–91. Bancroft, History of the United States, I, 84–85.

3. Fiske's Old Virginia, I. The early life of John Smith, 80–91. His relations with Pocahontas, 110–111; 168–173. His services to the colony, 130–143; 152–159. Tobacco and its cultivation, 174–177; 231. The first assembly, 185–188.

4. Eggleston, Beginners. The planting of Jamestown, 25–31 Estimate of Smith and his writings, 31–40. Dale and other governors, 40–59.

5. Hart, Contemporaries, I. The first settlers, No. 61. Ac-

counts by Smith and Wingfield, Nos. 62, 63. Pocahontas, No. 64. The first assembly, No. 65. Accounts of Virginia, Nos. 66, 67.

6. Bancroft tells the story of Virginia in detail in Vol. I, chaps. 6, 7, and 8. See also, Drake, Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies, 31–65.

7. Maryland. Fisher, Colonial Era, 62–68. Thwaites, The Colonies, 81–84. Lodge, Short History, 93–99. Eggleston, Beginners, 240–251. Drake, Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies, 66–76.

8. Calvert's history, motives, and early attempts to colonize. Eggleston, 220-234. Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 255–265.

9. Father White's account of the first settlement. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 73.

10. To what extent and in what ways did Roman Catholics suffer disabilities in England under James I and Charles I? See Histories of England.

11. Give reasons for the variation in climate of western Europe and eastern America in the same latitudes.

12. Make a comparison of the London Company and a Western railroad company of to-day upon the following points: Charter, "adventurers," land grant, transportation of settlers, expected sources of profit.

13. How many of the motives enumerated on pp. 39–40 are still active in English colonial policy?

14. Does the amount of coin in a country measure its wealth?

15. What measures would men take to-day for the protection of health in camping or settling in a new region similar to that of Virginia?

16. See James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 4.

17. The coming of women to Virginia is pictured in a novel, To Have and to Hold, by Mary Johnston; the same author portrays the life of indentured servants in Prisoners of Hope. See also, Goodwin, The Head of a Hundred. Sir Christopher.

CHAPTER V

NEW ENGLAND

The spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers.

ONE of the familiar stories of American history is that of the Pilgrim Fathers: the persecutions they suffered in England on account of their religion; their flight from that country; their residence in Holland; and the voyage, first to Plymouth in England and then to the new Plymouth in America. The spirit of the Pilgrims appears constantly in the course of their history as written by William Bradford, one of their leaders. He speaks, for example, of their "valewing peace & their spirituall comforte above any other riches whatsoever." Again, after a residence of twelve years in Holland, when the question of removing to America was debated, Bradford summarized the conclusion of the whole matter as follows: "It was answered, that all great & honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted ye dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though their were many of them likly, yet they were not cartaine; it might be sundrie of ye things feared might never befale; others by providente care & ye use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through ye help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome."

The Pilgrims were in Holland during the twelve years' truce between that country and Spain which began in 1609.

The possible renewal of war, as that period drew toward its end, was a menace to their comfort and even to their lives. But probably the most weighty consideration which determined the departure from Leyden was their desire to preserve the integrity of their little community and its peculiar faith. What was to them "of all sorrows most heavie to be borne, was that many of their children, . . . were drawne awaye by evill examples into extravagante & dangerous courses, getting ye raines off their neks, & departing from their parents. . . . So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate & be corrupted."

First Seal of Plymouth Colony

The stormy voyage of the *Mayflower* carried the Pilgrims farther north than they had expected to go; for their grant of land had been obtained from the London Company, and they were to settle in "the northern parts of Virginia." Because of this change in location, certain persons of their party threatened to do as they pleased after landing; and this led to the adoption, aboard the *Mayflower*, of the famous Compact.* In this document the signers promised "all due submission and obedience" to the laws which should be made by this "civill body politick."

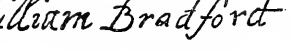
The *Mayflower* Compact

The bitter experiences of the Virginia settlers in the fight against hostile nature were repeated at Plymouth; but the coun-

* Similar compacts were adopted by other groups of settlers in the New England colonies, under similar circumstances. The Compact remained the basis of Plymouth government until the colony was united with Massachusetts (1691)

try was healthful and the climate not greatly different from that of England, so that the Pilgrims became acclimated more readily than those who settled in the South. Among those who died during the first winter was William Carver, their first Governor. He was succeeded by William Bradford, the historian of the colony, who occupied that office for about thirty years. In their relations with the Indians the Pilgrims were fortunate. A pestilence had greatly thinned the Indian population of this region, and with their nearest neighbors the settlers contracted a peace treaty that lasted many years.

Governors Carver and Bradford.



Signature of Governor Bradford

The common fund.

The Pilgrims were too poor to pay the expense of their transportation and the cost of their maintenance while establishing the colony, and had consequently entered into partnership with certain merchants of London who furnished the necessary capital. In order to secure funds from which dividends (and ultimately the principal of the debt) might be paid to the "adventurers" or capitalists, a system was adopted similar to that set up in Virginia. All land was held in common. The surplus product of labor (grain, furs, fish, lumber) was put into a common store. Even among the Pilgrims, the system was not a success; there were constant disputes between the colonists and the adventurers, and the incentive to individual effort was distinctly increased by the abolition of the common store and the assignment of separate tracts of land within a few years after the founding of the colony.

The colony's slow growth.

Plymouth colony did not grow rapidly, having in 1630 but three hundred inhabitants. Gradually new towns * were founded, until in 1643 there were ten altogether, and the population exceeded twenty-five hundred. This slowness of growth is accounted for by the poverty of the soil, which was cultivated with difficulty, and the poverty of the people, who could not afford to import laborers. Besides, the religious exclusiveness of the Pilgrims was a bar to their increase; for the number of their sect in England at this time was exceedingly small. It was because of the

* Among these were Duxbury, Taunton, Barnstable, and Nausett.

poverty of the people that Plymouth colony established no system of public schools before 1670.

The government of Plymouth colony.

At the beginning the "freemen" of this colony gathered in mass meetings, decided upon the laws, and elected the Governor and his "assistants." The freemen were the original signers of the Compact and such other persons as they voted to admit to the privilege of participating in the government. When new towns were founded, the people of these were given the authority to control their local affairs. The meeting of all the freemen in the colony now became inconvenient, and each town elected (1639) its "deputies" who represented it in the "general court," or legislative body, of the colony. Thus grew representative government in Plymouth colony.

The rise of the Puritans.

A review of English history in this period will make clear the position occupied by the Pilgrims and by that larger body of Puritans who first founded the great colony of Massachusetts Bay and later filled all New England with a sturdy population. By the Reformation movement in England there came about that separation from Papal authority which occurred under Henry VIII (1509–1547), and the changes in doctrine and ceremonies that were made under this monarch and his successor, Edward VI. When Elizabeth came to the throne, in 1558, a large part of the English people were still Roman Catholics; but it soon became certain that the English church would not return to its allegiance to Rome. Within this church, a great question remained unsettled: how far should the changes of the Reformation movement go? Gradually, two parties were formed—the Conservatives, who were content with what had been accomplished, and the Puritans, who would carry the church farther away from its former position. The Puritan belief represented a protest against the forms and ceremonies that were so prominent, not only in the religious but also in the political and social life of the times. They wished the Bible to be the sole guide in church discipline and

ritual. They would "purify' the service of certain ceremonies that seemed to them not specifically commended by the Scriptures: such were the ceremony of the mass, the use of vestments, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony. In the matter of church government, the body of Puritans did not like the official importance assigned to bishops, and they would give greater weight to the opinion of the laity.

Puritans and Separatists.

Upon this question of church government, however, the Puritans themselves did not agree. The greater number had no desire to withdraw from the Church of England. They believed in an established state church to which the government should enforce conformity—though they refused to conform when their own opinions were not the rules to be enforced. A smaller number of Puritans assumed a radical position in rejecting entirely the belief in a state church. These separated themselves from the Church of England and formed independent church bodies. Denying the right of the government to rule their churches, they established the rule of the congregation. Such were the Separatists, or Independents, and it was from this body that the Pilgrims came.

The policy of Charles.

The despotically inclined James I (1603–1625) was succeeded by his son Charles I, who, in his attempts to rule arbitrarily, dissolved Parliament three times within four years after his accession to the throne. In the reign of James the Puritans were not subjected to more than occasional punishment for their stubbornness. The Separatists were more severely treated. The declaration of James concerning all dissenters—"I shall make them conform themselves or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse"—was literally realized. And now, under Charles, the main body of Puritans anticipated that the policy of repression was about to be applied to them. For Charles appointed as his chief administrator in church matters William Laud (then Bishop of London and

later Archbishop of Canterbury), and "conformity" became the keynote in Charles's government of the Church of England.

The Massachusetts Bay Company

It is a cardinal fact in the situation that the party of Puritan belief in religion had come to be also the party opposed to the absolute rule of the Stuart monarchs. To them, Parliament was the bulwark of English liberties, and it was with dismay that they saw the determination of Charles to rule without that body. The final decision of leading Puritans to endure no longer the threatening conditions in England and to establish a colony in America dates from the dissolution by Charles of his third Parliament, March, 1629. Within a week from that date the King granted a charter to twenty prominent Puritans, confirming their title to a strip of land between the Charles and the Merrimac Rivers and three miles beyond each. This was the incorporation of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England."

Governor Winthrop
From a painting in the State House, Boston

The great emigration.

Later in the same year, the Company voted at a meeting in London to remove the charter and government to their colony in America. Consequently, the year 1630 saw the

emigration of a body of one thousand Puritans to the region of Massachusetts Bay, bearing with them the form of their government and entering at once upon the founding of "a new state" in the New World. At the same time John Winthrop became governor of the Company.

Why the charter was taken to America.

The transference of the charter was possible because its terms fixed no place for the meetings of the members and officers of the Company. It was, to all outward appearance, merely a trading corporation organized for gain. No hint of the underlying purpose was expressed in the charter. This purpose was the establishment in America of a new state modelled upon the peculiar ideas of the Puritans.* The discovery of this intention might lay the Company open to persecution.

The Company and the Colony.

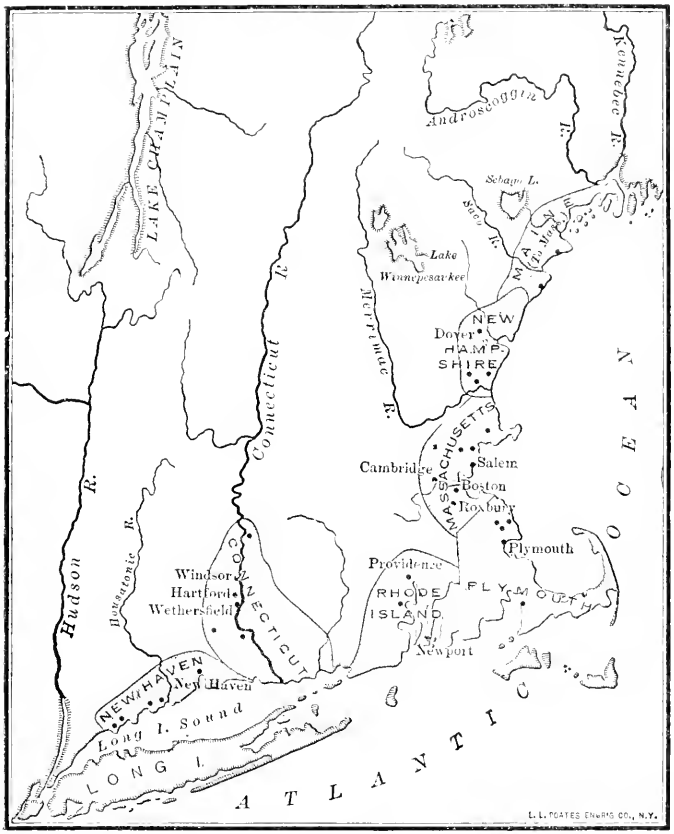
The consequences following upon the removal of the legal residence of the Massachusetts Bay Company to America were momentous. By this act the Company became merged into the colony; for though very few of the stockholders (called "freemen") actually came to America, new settlers were admitted to membership in the Company, and so the Company tended to become identical with the colony. In the provision that each member must be an adherent of the Puritan church we see firmly established the principle that religious and not commercial considerations were dominant. These were the freemen—the voters—of the colony. Thus the Puritan element ruled, and here the Puritans worked out their ideal commonwealth, almost entirely free from outside interference.

The government of the colony.

Massachusetts Bay Colony grew rapidly. Soon were planted about Boston (founded in 1630), numerous other towns—Newtown (Cambridge), Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Watertown. The original provision of the charter for the government of the Company included the election by the stockholders of a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants. There were to be meetings of the Company, called general courts, at least four times

* This was the idea of the men who planned and guided the colony. The great mass of emigrants in following these leaders were moved by an intelligent purpose to better their economic condition.

yearly. These provisions now applied to the government of the colony. The scattering of population rendered the holding of the general courts impracticable, and there was



The New England Colonies

a tendency on the part of some of the authorities to control matters without reference to the colonists. But within a few years it came about that each town sent two deputies

to the general court at Boston. The deputies sat first with the assistants, and later alone; they then constituted the lower house of the colonial legislature, the assistants constituting the upper house. At the same time the assistants were administrative officers, and sat as a judicial body to try cases. The governor, the deputy-governor, and the assistants were elected by the freemen. The colony was thus, in form, a small republic.

Local government in Massachusetts.

For the government of their towns, the Puritans selected certain political forms to which they had been accustomed in the mother country. The English town, or parish, furnished the model. Selectmen were elected (corresponding to the church wardens in England) who had general oversight of town affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical. The parish meetings became town meetings in America, to which were admitted not only the freemen of the colony (church members), but other landholders as well. For conducting the various functions of local government, care of the church, schools, poor, roads, boundaries, etc., numerous officers were elected. These were the clerk, treasurer, constables, justices, pound-keepers, fence viewers, and often many others. The town was thus a pure democracy.

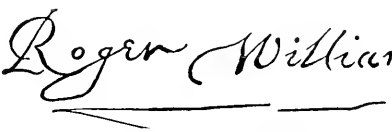
The Puritan church.

While, for a short time, the Puritans in America claimed to continue in allegiance to the Church of England, it is not strange that their freedom from restraint, coupled with the advice and example of the Plymouth settlers, led them to establish their church in America upon an independent foundation. We must not infer, however, that the freedom which the Puritans sought for themselves they were willing to grant to others. The discussions that arose over Roger Williams and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson reveal in a strong light the intolerance of the Puritans.*

* "It was no modern generalized love of liberty, civil or religious, but a strenuous desire to find a place where they might make real their ideal of church organization that brought the Puritans out of their comfortable nests in England to dwell in poor cabins in a wilderness." Eggleston, Beginners of a Nation, 197–198.

Roger Williams, a man of great natural ability and a graduate of Cambridge, was a minister in Salem. Here he announced a new doctrine; viz., that the King of England had no right to grant Indian lands in America to the colonists. It was also Williams's theory that the governments of church and state should be

"The prophet of religious freedom."



Signature of Roger Williams

separate instead of united. More specifically, he denounced the Puritan system of civil laws compelling church attendance and the observance of the Sabbath, and taxing the people for the support of the church. His ideas upon this point were in accord with the principles of our government to-day; but they were precisely contrary to the Puritan theory and practice. Williams was therefore sentenced by the general court to banishment. Escaping, when they threatened to transport him to England, he fled to friendly Indians, in the winter of 1635-1636. With four or five companions he founded Providence, the first town in the future colony of Rhode Island.

In character Roger Williams was almost above reproach, but he was an impractical leader. Far in advance of his age upon the great principle of religious toleration, he was yet like his contemporaries in his fondness for abstruse and dogmatic theorizing upon many points of theology. To the authorities of Massachusetts Bay Colony, his banishment seemed necessary as a means of curbing the tendency toward religious dissent, which, if allowed full play, might destroy the unity and undermine the strength of the colony. In the same way certain Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers of the colony were fined and imprisoned for their dissent. These sects were tolerated in Rhode

Island, however, and this colony became a refuge for the persecuted.*

The case of Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson differed from orthodox Puritans upon some points in theology with which the modern world does not concern itself; and although at one time she had the sympathy of the governer of Massachusetts, Sir Henry Vane, the leading minister of Boston, John Cotton, and a large number of the Boston Puritans, yet she was condemned to banishment. Some of her followers founded Newport and Portsmouth in Rhode Island, and later Mrs. Hutchinson removed thither. The two towns last mentioned united under a single government. Later, Williams went to England and obtained a charter under which, in 1647, a union was consummated consisting of all the Narragansett Bay settlements under the name "Providence Plantations." Thus was founded the colony of Rhode Island.

The formation of Rhode Island Colony.

Massachusetts a theocracy.

Since the Puritans made the maintenance of religious purity and discipline one of the first duties of the civil government, it was natural that the ministers should exert a dominant influence.† Hence, we have in Massachusetts Bay Colony a veritable theocracy. "Like the ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages, the ministers of New England were statesmen and political leaders." ‡ This fact, coupled with the limitation of the suffrage, gave for many years a distinctly aristocratic trend to a government that was theoretically democratic.

Early in the history of New England, the valley of the Connecticut River became known for its great fertility

* "Noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and [he] doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony." Extract from Rhode Island Charter of 1662.

† Among the ministers of great ability and of learning in the Calvinistic theology of the times were John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Thomas Hooker.

‡ Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century I. 218

and for the advantages it offered to fur traders. The Dutch (then established at the present site of New York) traded there, and in 1633 they planted a fort where Hartford now stands.

The settlement of Connecticut.

At this time there arose among the people of Newtown, Watertown, and Dorchester a desire to remove to the Connecticut Valley. In 1636, bodies of colonists migrated from these towns, and established Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield. This movement, as it could not very well have been prevented, was authorized by the Massachusetts government. Local control in the new towns was provided for temporarily by the appointment of commissioners who were from among the settlers. At the end of a year the commissioners called a "general court" to which the towns sent deputies; this was the beginning of a colonial government upon an independent basis.

One of the leaders was Rev. Thomas Hooker, who, in England, had been so prominent as a learned and eloquent preacher of Puritanism as to merit persecution by Archbishop Laud. Hooker's views of government were more liberal than those upon which Massachusetts was founded, and it may be that the discontent which led to the settlement of Connecticut was partly caused by the strictness of government in the parent colony.

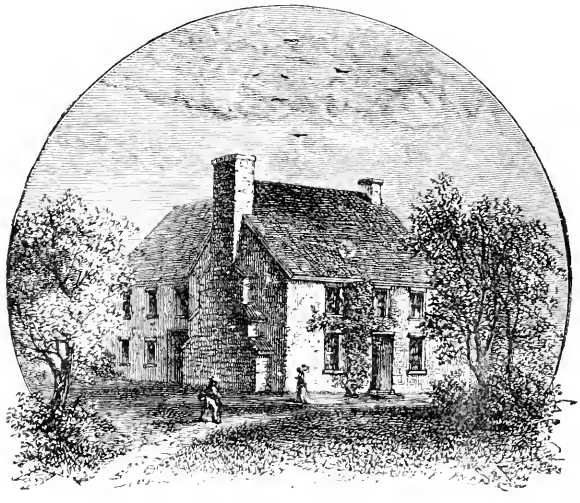
"The Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut.

The government of Connecticut Colony was formally set forth in 1639 by the adoption of "The Fundamental Orders." This document consisted of a covenant, like that of the *Mayflower* Compact, and a series of laws for the colony. Since the provisions of the Fundamental Orders could be repealed or altered by the general court, the document was not, in this respect, a superior authority like the State Constitutions of to-day; but in it there was no recognition of any authority, royal or otherwise, except that of the people themselves. There was in Connecticut no stated religious qualification for citizenship, and no officer, the governor alone excepted, need be a member of the Puritan church. The governor, assistants, and deputies were elected by the people; the last constituted a repre-

sentative assembly, consisting at first of four deputies from each town. The Fundamental Orders were thus the framework of a republican commonwealth similar in most respects to Massachusetts.

New Haven Colony settled.

In 1638, a body of Puritans from England settled on Long Island Sound, west of the Connecticut River, and called their colony New Haven. The people were Puritans of the strictest type; and they now formed a compact for



Old House in Guilford, 1639

self-government, admitting only church members to a share in it. It was their rule "thatt the worde of God shall be the onely rule to be attended unto in ordering the affayres of government in this plantation." Here the laws of the Old Testament were for a time literally applied in the conduct of daily affairs. Later, other towns were founded in the same vicinity, and these were united into New Haven Colony. A general court, consisting of deputies from the several towns conducted the colonial

government. The absorption of New Haven by Connecticut removed the peculiarities above mentioned (see p. 88).

Settlements which were mere fishing and trading stations were established on the coasts of what are now the States of Maine and New Hampshire before the settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Traders carried to England, lumber, fish, furs, and whale oil, and brought back liquors, guns, and ammunition for barter with the Indians. In the early history of this region there was a complicated series of disputes as to its ownership between Massachusetts and various grantees (especially Sir Fernando Gorges and John Mason) who had received patents of land north of the Merrimac River.

The beginnings of Maine and New Hampshire.

ENGLISH AND COLONIAL HISTORY, 1640–1660

The period of Charles I's personal rule (1629–1640) was followed in 1642 by civil war. The forces of the King, the Royalists, were arrayed against those of Parliament, the Puritans. The war was originally a struggle for constitutional government under a monarchy; but in the course of time, under the leadership of the extreme Puritans, or Independents, it became a struggle for a republican government. The success of this party was followed by the execution of Charles I (1649) and the establishment of the Commonwealth, with Oliver Cromwell as its central figure. This was a time of turbulence and disorder, requiring, doubtless, a rule of much harshness. Consequently, the enemies of the Puritan government had little, if any, more peace than was formerly allowed to the Puritans themselves.

Charles I and the Puritans.

The English people became dissatisfied with this state of affairs, especially when Richard Cromwell (1658–1660) showed his incapacity for the position occupied by his father. The overthrow of the Commonwealth and the establishment of Charles I's son on the throne as Charles II were then easily accomplished. This (1660) was the **restoration** of the Stuart dynasty to the throne of England.

The Restoration (1660)

Results in America.

These events of English history affected in important ways the course of colonial history. At the outbreak of the Civil War the Puritan migration to America ceased. The population of the New England colonies, at that time about 30,000, was almost exclusively Puritan, and hence there existed among them strong bonds of sympathy. This was especially true concerning Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, where the Puritan church was supreme. Under the pressure of common dangers these four colonies formed, in 1643, the New England Confederation. The dangers referred to were: (1) Indian attacks, the Narragansetts and Mohegans being particularly restless and liable to cause trouble. (2) The territory occupied by Connecticut was still claimed by the Dutch. (3) Among themselves the colonies had boundary disputes. The Confederation was formed for defence at a time when the English Government could render no assistance, and "for preserving and propagating the truths of the gospel." The settlements on the New Hampshire coast and those of Rhode Island were refused admission to the Confederation because they did not conform to the strict Puritan ideal of religion and government.

The New England Confederation (1643).

Influence of this ...ion.

The governing body of the Confederation was a board composed of two members from each of the four colonies. Its powers were largely advisory; the actual execution of its requirements, such as the raising of troops and of money, rested with the various colonial authorities. The Confederation, however, exercised great influence on numerous occasions. Besides settling the boundary dispute with the Dutch, it held the Indians in check, and gave advice and assistance to the general courts of the colonies in supporting Harvard College and in attacking the Quakers. After 1664, when New Haven was absorbed by Connecticut, its activities became feeble, and the end of its existence came when, in 1684, the Massachusetts charter was annulled.

Virginia during the Commonwealth.

In 1652, commissioners representing Parliament arrived in Virginia and demanded recognition of the Puritan government in England. This was granted, since peace and industrial prosperity were the main objects of the

colonists' desires. The House of Burgesses assumed control of the colonial government, and they were now free to elect their own governor, without interference by English authorities.

The Cavaliers and the growth of Virginia

It was at this time that the defeated Royalists, or Cavaliers, came in great numbers to Virginia. The population rose from 15,000 in 1648 to 38,000 in 1670. Moreover, this meant a great increase in the numbers of certain classes of settlers—the high-born and the wealthy. Such settlers there had been before in Virginia, but now this became the dominant class. Their coming brought about a change in the character of Virginian society, giving to it that aristocratic tone for which it became noted. It also resulted in the firm establishment and extension of the large plantation system of industry. For now large grants of land became common and the demand for labor to clear the forests and to plant tobacco brought to the colony an increasing number of slaves and indentured servants.

The restoration of the Stuarts was welcomed in Virginia. The Assembly elected Sir William Berkeley governor, and he soon secured a royal commission.

How events in England affected Maryland.

The history of toleration in Maryland was influenced by the trend of events in England, and by the fact that a large proportion of the inhabitants, probably three-fourths, were Protestants.* In 1648, Lord Baltimore, seeking to gain the favor of Parliament, and thus to hold his possessions more securely, appointed a Protestant governor for Maryland; the next year he drew up a "Toleration Act" which was promptly enacted by the Assembly as the law of the colony. Under this act, any believer in the Trinity might peacefully reside in Maryland. In accordance with the spirit of the times, blasphemy and denial of

* Many Puritans who had settled in Virginia under the liberal régime of the London Company, were forced to leave there during the period of the Civil War. They found refuge under the tolerant rule of Lord Baltimore.

the Trinity were punishable with death, and the confiscation of property.

During the period of the Commonwealth, the Protestants obtained control of Maryland, denied to Lord Baltimore his rights, and enacted laws of great severity against the Catholics. A civil war on a small scale resulted. Fortunately, under Cromwell's influence, the rights of the proprietor were restored in 1657, and with this came the firm establishment of the rule of toleration.

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4. Hart, Contemporaries, I, Why the Pilgrims left Holland, No. 97 The Compact, No. 98. Bradford's account of the first landing, No. 99. Life in Plymouth, No. 100.

5. Make a comparison of Jamestown and Plymouth settlers as to motives, stability of purpose, the common stock arrangement.

6. Explain the form in which the date of the Pilgrims' final landing is stated as "December 11–21, 1620." See Larned, History for Ready Reference under "Calendar," also, Encyclopædias.

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2. Charles I and his policy. Eggleston, 191–199. Fiske, 97–101. Gardiner, England, 502–511; 516–520. Green, England, 495–505.

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2. Compare Plymouth and Massachusetts as to number and character of settlers.

3. Church policy. Eggleston, 212–215. Fiske, 108–109.

4. Roger Williams. Lodge, 347–348. Fiske, 114–116. Eggleston, 267–275, 297–298. Bancroft, I, 249–256.

5. Mrs. Hutchinson. Eggleston, 329–341. Fiske, 116–120. Bancroft, I, 259–264. Account of her trial, Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 108.

6. How the general court came to consist of two houses. Fiske, 106–108.

7. Fiction. Stimson, King Noanett.

Connecticut.—1. General. Thwaites, 140–146. Fisher, 126–133. Lodge, 373–375. Eggleston, 316–326. Fiske, 122–128.

2. Compare the views of Winthrop and Hooker. Fiske, 124. Compare the views of Cotton and Hooker. Eggleston, 320–322.

3. How did Massachusetts and Connecticut differ in the process by which their colonial governments came about?

4. The Fundamental Orders. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 120. MacDonald, Select Charters, I, 60–65.

5. Fiction. Holland, The Bay Path.

Rhode Island.—Thwaites, 146–150. Fisher, 114–116; 123–124. Lodge, 385–386.

New Haven.—Fiske, 134–139. Tyler, England in America, 60–64.

Maine and New Hampshire.—Lodge, 397–405. Thwaites, 150–153.

The New England Confederation.—Fiske, 155; 158–160. Thwaites, 154–159; 161–164. Drake, Making of New England, 241–243.

Further source material upon these colonies is found in James and Mann Readings in American History, chap. 5.

CHAPTER VI

FURTHER ENGLISH COLONIZATION

NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

The beginnings of Dutch exploration and colonization.

THE struggle between England and Spain in the latter part of the sixteenth century (see pp. 34–35), was contemporaneous with Spain's wars against her revolted Dutch possessions. When Spain absorbed Portugal, in 1580, and took possession of her colonies and trading posts in the far East, Dutch traders were extensively engaged in carrying Eastern products from Lisbon to the ports of northern Europe. This lucrative traffic being broken up as a result of the Dutch revolt (1579), the latter were forced to send their vessels to the East in order to maintain their carrying trade. Here they took possession of many islands and trading posts that had formerly belonged to Portugal.* Various trading companies were organized as instruments for pushing Dutch commercial interests and at the same time for weakening the power of Spain.

The voyage of Henry Hudson, 1609.

Among these the most important was the Dutch East India Company (1602). Dutch navigators did not confine their Eastern voyages to the route around Africa, but sailed around South America† and across the Pacific to Australasia. They were also bent upon finding a northern route around Europe, and it was upon the search for this route

* Among these were the Moluccas, Java, and other islands still owned by the Dutch.

† Cape Horn was named from a Dutch captain; New Zealand and Tasmania are also Dutch names.

that Henry Hudson was sent (1609) by the Dutch East India Company. Failing to accomplish his object, he turned westward across the Atlantic in the hope that a passage to Asia might be found through America.* Hudson sailed into Delaware Bay and then into the beautiful New York Harbor and up the Hudson River as far as the site of Albany. In this vicinity he remained for several weeks, trading with the Indians.

Following Hudson's voyage, several trading posts were established, the present sites of New York and Albany being occupied as early as 1613–1614.

Dutch colonization in America begun.

Any extensive policy of trade and colonization authorized by the Dutch government would involve the danger of irritating Spain; for a truce between these countries had been made in 1609 which was to last for twelve years. During this period, therefore, the peace party in Holland opposed the renewal of aggressions against Spain. The year 1621, however, saw the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company, which purposed to renew the war against Spain by attacking its fleets and colonies in American waters.† This Company was given the monopoly of Dutch trade on the coasts of Africa and America, and it had authority to colonize unoccupied regions.

The Dutch West India Company and its posts in New Netherland.

Among the objects that brought about the Dutch West India Company, viz., war, trade, and colonization, the last was of least importance. But colonists were sent out and several trading posts, each protected by a fort, were planted on the Delaware, Hudson, and Connecticut rivers; Fort Nassau, opposite the present site of Philadelphia, and Fort Orange, where Albany now stands, being the most important. Thus the limits of the colony of New Netherland were established between the Delaware River on the west and the Connecticut on the east. In 1626, the Company sent out settlers with a Director-General, Minuit, who

* John Smith was at this time searching for the isthmus that was supposed to separate the Atlantic from the Pacific in about latitude 40° N., and he had written a letter to Hudson suggesting that it might be found north of Virginia.

† Between 1623 and 1638 the Dutch captured 545 Spanish and Portuguese vessels and gained possessions in South America and Africa.

purchased Manhattan Island and founded New Amsterdam.

Settlement under the patroons.

These settlements were at first of slow growth. In 1629, the Company began inducing the migration of agricultural settlers by the establishment of the "patroon system." Individuals who would undertake to bring fifty adult settlers were given grants of land extending eight miles on both sides of a river, or sixteen miles on one side, and back into the country indefinitely. While the patroons were to be subject to the regulations of the Company in the matters of trade and war, they were given powers of local government over their settlers; so that the system resembled in some ways the feudal customs of Europe. Very few patroonships were ever established, and the most of these were bought up by the Company. This, like other plans for settlements in America where the colonists were made closely dependent upon large land owners, was a failure and had little influence upon the life of the colony. In later years, however, both the Dutch and their successors, the English, granted large estates, or manors, and these were, of course, worked by tenants.

Independent settlers and Indian relations.

The trend of economic life in New Netherland was decidedly influenced when, in 1638, the trade monopoly of the West India Company was abolished in this colony. The profitable fur trade and the rich lands were now open to all settlers. Immigration soon increased rapidly. Settlers came from many European countries and from neighboring English colonies. When Connecticut and New Haven were settled, the Dutch lost their trading posts on the Connecticut River. From the time of Hudson's voyage the most friendly relations existed between the Dutch traders and the Iroquois Indians of the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys. The latter eagerly seized the opportunity to acquire European blankets, utensils, guns, and rum in exchange for their furs; and this fact became of great importance in our colonial history. (See chapter VIII.) But along the lower Hudson the Algonquin

tribes and the settlers clashed, and terrible Indian wars ensued. Eventually the Indians were driven back.

Government by the West India Company.

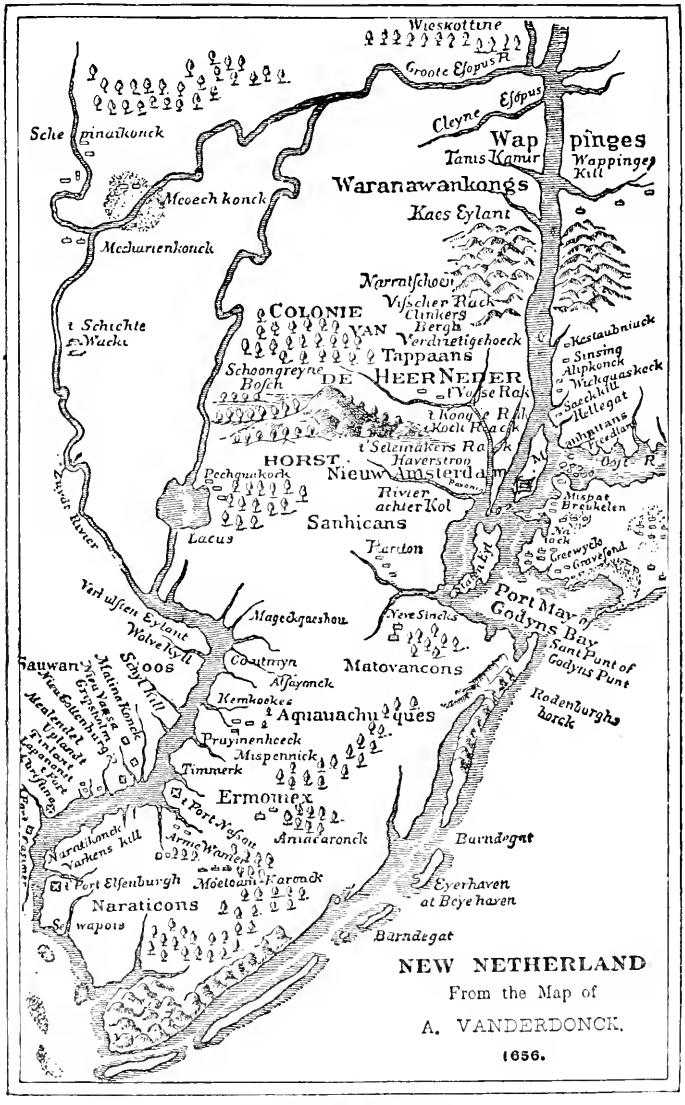
Since colonization was but a minor interest with the Dutch West India Company, it established at the beginning a government that was "fit only for a trading post." The bankruptcy of the Company and the consequent lack of attention to its colony account for the continuance of this bad system. The chief feature of New Netherland's government was the autocratic rule of the governor (called the Director-General). He and his council of five members absorbed all local powers, legislating upon lands, trade, taxes, defence, and all minor matters, and administering its own regulations through subordinate officials. Finally, they sat as the highest court of civil and criminal jurisdiction. The arbitrariness of the Governors Kieft and Stuyvesant led to attempts on the part of the settlers to secure a representative assembly and such liberal methods of government as they saw enjoyed in the neighboring English colonies. But the governors successfully resisted the permanent establishment of such reforms. In the towns and villages, however, a considerable degree of local self-government prevailed.

The Swedes in Delaware.

The territory theoretically belonging to New Netherland was encroached upon when, in 1638, the Swedes founded a trading post and fort on the Delaware River—Fort Christiana. The part taken by Sweden in the great European struggle known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) brought her into intimate contact with the other countries of northern Europe and stimulated the ambition of her ruler, Gustavus Adolphus, to follow the example of other countries in founding a colonial system. The Swedish settlements flourished as long as the Dutch and Swedish governments were allied in the Thirty Years' War. Soon after its close Governor Stuyvesant sent a military expedition that conquered the Delaware Bay posts and incorporated them into New Netherland.

Relations of the Dutch with the English.

The English, because of their alliance with Holland, left the Dutch colony undisturbed upon soil claimed by virtue of the Cabot voyages. This alliance be-



New Netherland in 1656

gan in their common struggle against Spain and was strengthened by ties of kinship, religion, and political interest. Then, too, the years of active Dutch colonization were years of strife and war in England. After the Stuart restoration of 1660, these conditions gave place to a bitter trade rivalry between these nations. The English Navigation Act of 1651 (see p. 85), aimed directly at the Dutch trade, was followed by war between the two countries. Soon after Charles II came to the throne, his brother James, the Duke of York, together with several other prominent Englishmen, led in a movement for the investigation of this trade rivalry by a committee of the House of Commons. The result was the secret determination of Charles to force a war upon the Dutch by first seizing New Netherland.

The English conquer New Netherland, 1664.

This territory was granted to the Duke of York in spite of the fact that the English, by their failure to occupy it, had no valid claim. An expedition, consisting of three vessels carrying troops, was sent to Massachusetts and thence to New Amsterdam, where it appeared in August, 1664. Since this force greatly exceeded the force at Governor Stuyvesant's command, and since the colonists were rather glad to exchange the illiberal Dutch rule for the prospect of better government under the English, the city was reluctantly surrendered, and New Netherland became New York.

Causes for and results of the conquest.

The failure of the Dutch nation to maintain a vigorous colony may be attributed to their small population and lack of colonizing spirit. But New Netherland was the victim of neglect at the hands of the West India Company, which had spent its resources in the strife against Spain. From the English standpoint the conquest of New Netherland was a great gain, and its results were beneficial in the highest degree, though the means employed were questionable. A check was put upon Dutch participation in colonial trade; the valuable fur trade was secured; and the middle coast of North America no longer sheltered a rival colonizing power.

James's government of New York.

The Duke of York exercised in his colony a very complete autocratic power, especially during the administration of Edmund Andros (1674–1681). He, like Stuyvesant, was a zealous servant of his master and a faithful executive. Against this system the colonists, especially the increasing English element, persistently complained, and finally, in 1683, the Duke established an elective assembly with power to tax the colony. In 1685, when the Duke became James II of England, he reverted to his former ideas of absolutism, and during his reign no more assemblies were elected.

People of many nationalities came to New York. Most prominent, besides the Dutch, were the English, Huguenots, and Jews. Agriculture yielded a surplus of provisions, while trade with the Indians and with European countries became an important industry.

The settlement of New Jersey.

Soon after the Duke of York received the grant of his new colony he granted in turn a large part of it to two of his favorites, Berkeley and Carteret, who were officially prominent in the restored kingdom at home. Their land lay between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, and was destined to become New Jersey. This colony contained a mixed population of Dutch, English, and Swedes. Many Puritans from New England settled there. In the western part, on the Delaware River, prominent Quakers of England purchased land, and to this region came large numbers of their people. East New Jersey was also, for a time, the property of Quakers who endeavored to found here a colonial refuge for their sect. Owing to endless disputes over the rights of the various proprietors and disputes with New York over boundaries and trade, no consistent policy was carried out in the development or government of the colony. New Jersey was surrendered to the crown in 1702.

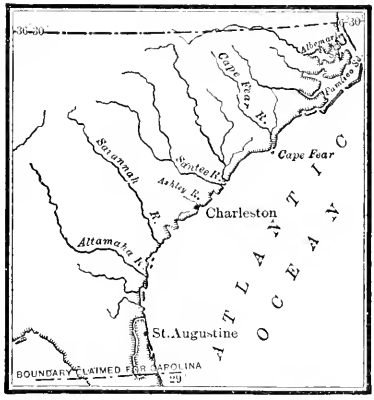
THE CAROLINAS

Revival of colonizing schemes in England.

When the Restoration brought comparative quiet to England there was a renewal of the earlier interest in colonization on the part of the government and those closely associ-

ated with it. To some of those loyal friends who had assisted him in the recovery of his throne, Charles II gave (1663) the region south of Virginia now occupied by the Carolinas.

Two of the grantees, Sir John Colleton and Lord Ashley (later famous as the Earl of Shaftesbury) were interested in a project to relieve the distress of settlers in Barbadoes by colonizing them upon the continent. Other proprietors were the Earl of Clarendon and Sir George Carteret. The motives of the proprietors were commercial; this was a revival of the earlier hopes of profits from the planting of colonies.



The Carolina Grant by Charter of 1665

The northern part of the Carolina grant had not lacked settlers before 1663. This, as Fiske points out, was the frontier of Virginia. Here came indentured servants upon becoming free, now forming an industrious small farmer class. With them came also an undesirable element, such as criminals and debtors escaping from justice. The growth of this Albemarle settlement was slow. Having no good port on the ocean, their communication was chiefly through Virginia. The settlers were widely scattered on small farms along the rivers, there was little social contact, and the colony long retained its "back-woods" stamp. Early in its history, many Quakers, driven from New England and other places, came to North Carolina. Numerous Puritans also settled here.

People and life in North Carolina.

The history of the Carolinas under the proprietors begins with the founding of Charleston* by a company of

Charleston founded, 1670.

* Not at its present site, but a short distance southward across the Ashley River.

settlers sent out from England and reënforced by others from Barbadoes and the Bahamas. Besides these, many immigrants came from other European countries.

Huguenots.

In two respects the policies of Louis XIV of France were favorable to the English colonies: (1) His revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) drove from France many of those Protestants, called Huguenots, whose political and religious rights had been secured by that instrument. They became numerous in South Carolina, and here "they formed an excellent and influential part of the population, were wealthy and of high social position, and their descendants were conspicuous in the history of the State." *

Germans.

(2) The war of Louis XIV against the German Palatinate (1689), resulting in the terrible devastation of that province, is responsible for another emigration to America. The Palatinate Germans came to various colonies, including the Carolinas, and constituted a substantial element among the farming population.

Swiss.

Swiss settlers also came to the Carolinas, under Baron von Graffenried, and founded New Berne, a reminder of one of Switzerland's chief cities.

Social and economic life in the Carolinas

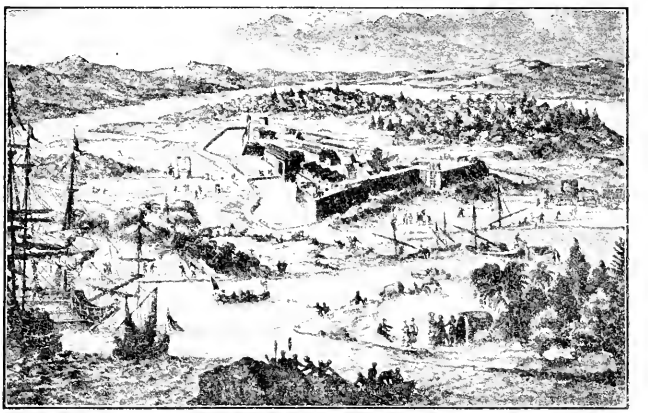
South Carolina presented a strong contrast to North Carolina in its social and economic conditions. The life of the former centered in Charleston. Large plantations were the rule; for among the settlers many were wealthy, and some bore titles. Plantation life was not isolated, as in Virginia; many of the planters lived in Charleston. Those who came from Barbadoes had been accustomed there to slavery, and soon South Carolina had more negroes than whites. In North Carolina, on the other hand, slaves were not numerous.

Rice came to be the principal product of the southern colony, and when this was planted in excess indigo proved to be more profitable. Besides these products, tobacco, lumber, and beef, were exported. In contrast with the crude social conditions existing in North Carolina, the other colony had much social life and a comparatively high degree of refinement.

* Lodge, Short History of the English Colonies, 173.

"The Fundamental Constitution."

The policy of the proprietors in granting toleration to all sects encouraged the influx of diverse elements and nationalities. Politically, their policy was anything but liberal; it was distinctly intended to be aristocratic. The foundation for the government of Carolina was "The Fundamental Constitution," drawn up by Lord Shaftesbury and his secretary, John Locke, in 1669. This was a theoretical



Charleston, South Carolina
From Dapper's America, Amsterdam, 1673

scheme for the erection in the colony of various governmental divisions and the creation of numerous officials and orders of nobility.* The political institutions thus established were arbitrary, the minute division of classes was undemocratic, the numerous officers and the authority vested in them were burdensome. In brief, this plan was made in England regardless of the actual needs of the settlers. As Lodge says, the foremost practical politician and the foremost philosopher of England united their abilities in its construction, and the result was "a simple absurdity."

* Since no titles might be used similar to those employed in England, the terms Palatine, Landgrave, and Cacique were applied to orders of officers and nobility.

Struggles under representative government in South Carolina.

The charter of 1663 provided that the laws of Carolina should be enacted "by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen," who were to meet either in person or by their representatives. Accordingly, an Assembly was early established, and the later history of South Carolina is filled with accounts of its struggles to maintain and to extend its rights. The Assembly at first absolutely refused assent to the Fundamental Constitution, since it had no part in framing this document. It also succeeded in its resistance to the proprietors' plan for having all laws first passed by the council, which consisted of the proprietors' appointees. It secured the right to elect some of the colonial officers, and thus it added to its power. The Assembly finally secured the right to originate all bills for raising revenue.

Troubles in North Carolina.

In North Carolina, also, there were many long and complicated disputes between the people and the governors. Before the publication of the Fundamental Constitution, a government had grown up in North Carolina, and the interruption of its natural development by the imposition of an arbitrary scheme was hotly resented by the unruly settlers. The Fundamental Constitution was a dead letter in that colony from the beginning. In 1678, and again ten years later, there were rebellions in the course of which the governors were driven from the colony. North Carolina suffered from a succession of bad governors, the greater number of whom were favorites of the proprietors, more bent upon their own gain than upon establishing the prosperity of the colony.

There was also much friction arising from attempts to enforce the navigation laws in North Carolina. The leading products were tobacco, rice, indigo, lumber, tar, and turpentine. Much of the surplus was exported from Norfolk or through Charleston. But a considerable amount was picked up by New England ships along the larger rivers at the planters' wharves. In this trade the duties imposed by the navigation acts were uniformly

evaded. Every attempt on the part of the authorities to enforce the law resulted in disorder and met with meagre success.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

Before the founding of Pennsylvania, many Quakers had settled in Rhode Island, North Carolina, and Maryland. The Jerseys were for a time under Quaker control. Among the men who organized the Quaker colony in West Jersey was William Penn, a man of high social position in England; and his interest in this enterprise led to the founding of a new colony as "A Holy Experiment" in government.

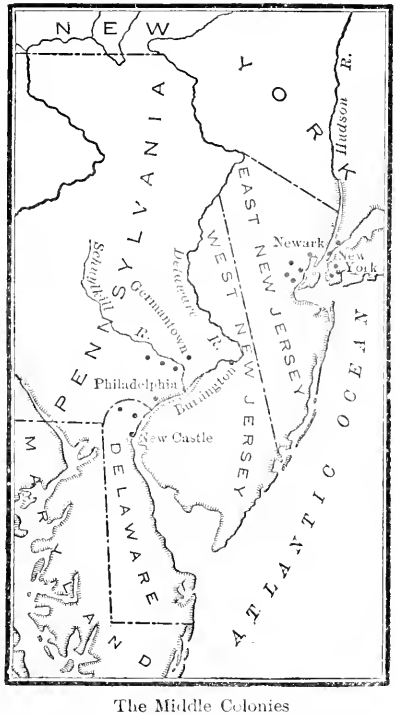
William Penn

William Penn and his relations with the Stuart monarchs

During the reign of Charles II, the Quakers in England suffered persecution, especially for violations of the conventicle act.* Not less severe were the social penalties inflicted upon them because of their peculiar doctrines and behavior. For the son of Admiral Penn of the English Navy, who stood high in the esteem of the Stuart monarchs, to adhere to this despised sect and yet to retain his social position was evidence of strong character and marked

* Among other restrictions this forbade the assembling of dissenting sects. See histories of England. The Quakers, like the Catholics, were penalized for not attending services of the Established Church.

ability. With the Duke of York, Charles II's brother, Penn was especially intimate. Admiral Penn had loaned money to Charles II, but the debt had been repudiated. This loss and other financial reverses had reduced his son's fortune considerably. When the latter applied to the King for a grant of land in America, his influence at court readily secured the favor (1681).



The Middle Colonies

Quaker beliefs.

In their religious beliefs the Quakers may be regarded as Puritans of an extreme type. Not satisfied with the repudiation of outward ceremonies, they abolished likewise the ministry; for it was a cardinal tenet of their faith that spiritual guidance came direct to each individual and was manifested in him by the "inner light" that proceeded from God himself. This source of inspiration took the place of the Puritans' Bible as interpreted by their chosen ministers. It was a logical consequence of this belief that religious toleration should prevail among Quakers. In political matters, democracy alone was compatible with this view of religion. The Quakers would abolish all social ranks and distinctions.

Penn's grant and charter.

Penn's grant of land, after many disputes over boundaries, was finally restricted to the limits of the present State of Pennsylvania. His charter contained limitations not

found in those of other proprietary colonies, such as the requirement that all laws should be submitted to the approval of the government in England, and that the people might have the right of appeal in judicial cases to the King in Council. These restrictions and the obligation to enforce the navigation laws may be regarded as safeguards that the experience of the English Government in dealing with the other proprietary colonies seemed to justify.

The colony founded and Delaware added

In 1681, the first body of colonists were located on the Delaware River, and the following year Penn's surveyor laid out Philadelphia upon a healthful site, admirably adapted for commerce. Penn himself came in 1682 to superintend personally the founding of his colony. In this region there were already a thousand prosperous Dutch and Swede settlers. In view of commercial advantages, Penn secured as an addition to his grant the land on Delaware Bay now constituting the State of Delaware. Quakers came to Pennsylvania in great numbers, and prosperity began from the very first.

The "Frame of Government."

Penn was much interested in the political theorizing prevalent at this time, and his "Frame of Government" for Pennsylvania reflects much conscientious thought. Unlike some other proprietors, he made no effort to enlarge his own prerogatives, but rather sought to favor popular rights. The people, said he, must rule. "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." In accordance with this principle, Penn at once called a legislature consisting of an Assembly and a Council, both elective. In the distribution of powers among the Assembly, the Council, and the Governor, Penn's plans did not work out successfully; so that after his departure from the colony (1684) many disputes arose. As the outcome of these, the Assembly eventually secured the right to initiate bills, while the Council became appointive and lost its power to share in legislation. So

the legislature of this colony came to be composed of only one house.

Enlightened government.

In Pennsylvania no religious sect had cause to feel restraint. A broad humane spirit is shown in the fact that the laws provided capital punishment for only two offences —murder and treason.* Other laws established prisons and an insane asylum where some regard should be shown for the decent treatment of their inmates and for the reform of criminals—ideas far in advance of the times.

Non-English colonists.

The English colonists constituted but one-half of Pennsylvania's population. Swedes, Finns, and Dutch continued to come, while thither flocked many Welsh and Palatinate Germans.† German Mennonites and other sects having beliefs in harmony with that of the Quakers were invited to the colony and found there a congenial home.

Industries.

Although agriculture was the chief industry in Pennsylvania, grain and cattle being exported in large quantities, commerce flourished from the beginning and the manufacture of many articles was begun.

Relations with the Indians.

Penn's dealings with the Indians, no less than his legislation, reflect his peace-loving and humane disposition. Here, as elsewhere in the colonies, pains were taken to purchase Indian lands, and Penn proposed a board of arbitration for the settlement of disputes, but this was not realized. The freedom of the colonists from Indian troubles is owing partly to the Quakers' dislike of violence and their sense of justice; and partly to the fact that their neighbors, the Delaware Indians, had been subjugated by the powerful Iroquois, the Englishmen's friends.

Penn's influence at the court of Charles II, and his friendship with James II had important consequences. When Charles II began the process of nullifying charters (see post, p. 89), that of Pennsylvania was not touched. When James II consolidated the northern colonies (see

* Later, other crimes, raising the number to fourteen, were added. Contrast this with the contemporary list of two hundred capital crimes in England.

† Penn had travelled in Germany, and he wrote letters and sent descriptive pamphlets to induce immigration to Pennsylvania.

post, p. 89), Pennsylvania was left independent. This colony soon ranked third in population, Virginia and Massachusetts alone exceeding it; while Philadelphia became the largest city in the thirteen English colonies.

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2. Henry Hudson. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America, I, 82–95. Drake, Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies, 108–116.

3. Why the English conquered New Netherland. Andrews, Colonial Self-government, 74–81.

4. Stuyvesant and the End of Dutch rule. Drake, 135–145. Reasons for the surrender. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 155.

New Jersey.—1. General. Fisher, 194–198. Thwaites, 210–214.

2. Drake, Making of Virginia, etc., East New Jersey, 161–169. West New Jersey, 169–176.

The Carolinas.—1. General. Thwaites, 89–95. Fisher, 76–81. Lodge. North Carolina, 132–139. South Carolina, 158–162.

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2. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II. Penn's early life and his religious ideas, 114–120. The Colony, II, 147–158; 306–312; 324–329. Indian relations, II, 158–166. See also Fiske, Beginnings of New England, 205–206.

3. Penn and his grant. Andrews, Colonial Self-government, 162-169.

4. The charter. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II, Appendix, II. MacDonald, Select Charters, 183–190.

5. Penn's Frame of Government (1682), MacDonald, 192–199 That of 1683, 199–204. That of 1696, 217–222.

6. Hart, Contemporaries, I. Conditions in Pennsylvania, No. 161. The Indian Treaty, No. 162. The Germans, No. 163.

7. Pennsylvania, New York, and the Carolinas are treated in James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 6.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIES AFTER THE RESTORATION—1660–1690

The navigation laws.

The early neglect of colonial affairs by the English Government under the first two Stuarts was followed by a more definite policy of control begun during the Commonwealth and developed after the Restoration. The navigation acts were a part of this policy. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Holland was the greatest commercial nation of Europe, the Dutch carrying three-fourths of England's commerce. Great quantities of tobacco were shipped in Dutch bottoms from Virginia to England and Holland. An act of Parliament, passed in 1651, required that all goods brought to England from Asia, Africa, or America, should be carried by English or colonial ships. This act reflects the ambitious policy of Cromwell and struck a blow at Dutch maritime prosperity.* It was, however, only loosely enforced during the period of the Commonwealth. After the Restoration Parliament renewed this act and added further restrictions (1660). Certain colonial products (called enumerated articles), including sugar, tobacco, dye-woods, and indigo could be shipped only to England or to other English colonies.† In 1663, an act provided that all goods brought

* This and other causes resulted in a war between the two nations, the first of a series in which the Dutch lost their maritime supremacy.

† These were articles that could not be produced in England. The list of enumerated goods was changed many times during the next one hundred years. Molasses and rice were later added, and then rice was allowed to be shipped to ports of southern Europe.

to the colonies must come from or through English ports. By an act of 1672 goods shipped from one colony to another must either go by way of England or pay a high duty in colonial ports.

Their purpose.

English merchants and ship owners were to reap the benefit of this legislation: (1) By becoming the only buyers of certain colonial products; (2) by becoming the only sellers in colonial markets; and (3) by the exclusion of Dutch competition in the carrying business. The English Government would gain increased revenue from the duties upon goods going to and coming from the colonies.

Some effects of the laws.

The effect of these laws in Virginia was marked. The value of tobacco fell to a low point, and the cost of clothing, furniture, and implements rose.* English vessels charged higher freight rates than Dutch because the latter were built more cheaply, conveyed larger cargoes, and carried fewer sailors.

Bad conditions in Virginia.

These conditions, and the fact that the planters unwisely devoted themselves almost exclusively to tobacco raising, caused great economic distress. Discontent arose, which was augmented by abuses in the government of Virginia. Sir William Berkeley, who had again become governor,

Signature of Governor Berkeley

managed to control the House of Burgesses completely, by proroguing it from time to time, instead of holding new elections. His council, appointed by himself, constituted an aristocratic ring; the franchise was limited to freeholders; heavy taxes were levied and public money was

* Whereas before 1651 a pair of shoes could be bought for twelve pounds of tobacco, in 1657 the price was fifty pounds. Bruce, Economic and Social History of Virginia, II, 375–376. Similar results followed in Maryland and later in North Carolina.

squandered; and incompetent and dishonest officers were appointed.

Bacon's Rebellion. 1676.

Open resistance came about when Governor Berkeley refused to render efficient aid in the defence of the frontier against Indian attacks. Nathaniel Bacon, a young planter, put himself at the head of the militia for this purpose, and thus brought upon himself the wrath of Berkeley. After a complicated series of attacks and counter attacks between the rival factions, Bacon died, and his party, which was mainly composed of the poorer classes and the small farmers, dissolved. In the main the rebellion accomplished its object; reforms were made in the government, and the Indians were checked.

The overproduction of tobacco later caused economic depression. Determined efforts were made by the colonists, to decrease, by agreement and by legislation, the amount of tobacco planted, but these efforts failed. In 1682, riots ensued and many fields were devastated for the purpose of decreasing the supply. In later years, when transportation rates decreased and the English demand increased, tobacco growing became more remunerative.

Efforts of the home government to control the colonies.

Under the Commonwealth, and immediately after the Restoration, special boards or committees of the Privy Council in England were appointed to have charge of colonial affairs. Between 1675 and 1688 a committee known as the Lords of Trade had exercised authority in (1) settling disputes between colonies; (2) collecting information concerning trade; (3) advising the King and colonial governors as to details of administration; (4) endeavoring to bring the colonies into accord with the policy of the home government, and especially (5) trying to secure obedience to the navigation laws. For the purpose last mentioned, customs officers were stationed in the colonies, but these seldom worked in harmony with the colonial governors. The system of control was, in its actual workings, very imperfect. There existed in America no adequate machinery for the enforcement of the will

of the home government, and the extent to which the colonies could govern themselves was not definitely stated or agreed upon.

Self-government in New England.

Under these circumstances, the periods of the Civil War and Commonwealth were favorable to self-government in the colonies In New England, especially, this was taken advantage of, with results that became apparent after the Restoration. Massachusetts attracted the attention of the home government because of its independence and its slowness in acknowledging the King; and Connecticut and Rhode Island because their governments had been established without legal authorization by the mother country. The latter colonies now sent agents to England asking for charters. John Winthrop for Connecticut (1662), and John Clark for Rhode Island (1663), succeeded in this mission. Their charters left them in reality little republics, electing all their officers, and having only a general dependence upon the crown. The Connecticut charter accomplished the overthrow of New Haven Colony, whose inhabitants had offended the home government by their kind treatment of two regicide judges who had taken part in the conviction of Charles I. The union of these two colonies strengthened their defence against the Dutch and the Indians.

A liberal policy toward Connecticut and Rhode Island.

In 1664, complaints against Massachusetts becoming more frequent, a royal commissioner was sent to examine into conditions there.

Charges preferred against Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts Government was accused of exceeding its authority by extending its jurisdiction over the Mason and Gorges grants north of the Merrimac River, and by having erected a mint and coined money. The restriction of the suffrage to church members had been condemned by Charles II, who demanded its extension to all property holders; he also required that the English Church should be tolerated there. The colony was charged with evading these requirements. The persecution of the Quakers was another cause of offence. The colony's treatment of the royal commissioners was anything but respectful, and it practised a tantalizing policy of delay in all of its rela-

tions with the home government. It endeavored to preserve its original independence by denying the right of appeal from colonial courts to England, and by denying the validity of acts of Parliament which were not also passed by the colonial Assembly. Most serious was the charge preferred by royal customs officials that the people of Massachusetts systematically violated the navigation laws, and that the colonial government connived at such disobedience. This practice, it was represented, greatly decreased the royal revenues.

The policy of imperial control.

Here were sufficient grounds for the annulment of the Massachusetts charter, and this was legally accomplished by order of an English court in 1684. A temporary government was established, but without a legislative assembly. At the same time plans were made for annulling the other New England charters and for the union of all these colonies under a governor-general; also, for the destruction of the proprietors' interests in Delaware, Maryland, and the Carolinas—a project never executed. Such was the policy of *imperial control* proposed by the Lords of Trade and based upon their experience in dealing with the colonies. The arguments in favor of it were: (1) More direct control might thus be exercised; (2) the navigation laws could be enforced; (3) defence against the French and the Indians could be more effective. This policy was advocated by a class of officials and dissatisfied persons in the colonies, as well as by the commercial class in England. It would have been a radical departure from the earlier policy, and its enforcement would have interrupted the tendency towards self-government that prevailed everywhere in the colonies.

Despotic government under Andros, and its overthrow

The Duke of York became King James II of England in 1685. The next year he appointed Edmund Andros Governor-General of New England, who began the policy of consolidation by dissolving the governments of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.* Later Andros's authority was extended over New York and New Jersey. In

* The charter of Connecticut was not surrendered. For the charter oak tradition, see Fiske, Beginnings, 367–368. Lodge, English Colonies, 380.

Massachusetts his enforcement of the King's orders resulted in the complete overthrow of self-government. When rumors of the revolution in England against James II (1688) reached America, Andros was imprisoned and the people temporarily resumed their former government. In 1691, a new charter was given to Massachusetts by William and Mary which represented a compromise between the proposed policy of control and the former freedom of self-government. The legislature of the colony was made elective;* but the governor was appointed by the crown instead of being elected, as formerly. Rhode Island and Connecticut resumed their charter governments, and these were not again disturbed.

Results in New York.

In New York, also, the Andros government was overthrown. A movement, led by Jacob Leisler, established a popular government. The efforts of Leisler to continue as governor of the colony were defeated by a governor, Sloughter, sent from England. "Leisler's rebellion," so called, was put down very harshly. Under the new régime, however, New York secured, what it had never had, a regular representative assembly.†

In Maryland.

The anti-Catholic character of the Revolution in England gave occasion for an uprising of the Protestant colonists of Maryland against the Baltimore rule. They were successful in gaining control of the colonial government, and William and Mary favored their cause by refusing to restore to Lord Baltimore his rights under the charter. So, for about twenty-five years Maryland was governed as a royal province. Then, in 1715, the Baltimore proprietorship was reëstablished, when the heir was a Protestant.

The English Revolution and its accompanying movements in America interrupted the execution of the imperial policy put in operation under Charles II and

* While the lower house was chosen by the people, the Council was elected by joint ballot in both houses, the governor having power to reject members thus elected.

† One such body had met in 1683 (see p. 74).

James II. Whether under the new line of monarchs there was to be a pursuance of this policy, or a reversal to the earlier one, was a question of great importance.

COLONIAL LIFE IN 1690

New motives for colonization.

What had a century of English activity in colonization accomplished on the American continent? A distinct change in the moving causes of emigration may be noted. At the beginning of the seventeenth century commercial motives were uppermost. Colonization upon this basis was not successful, but during the century other motives became predominant. Primary among these was the desire to escape troublous religious conditions in European countries. Frequently distinct, but often combined with the religious motive, was another which was purely economic. "The desire to better their fortunes was perhaps the most fundamental and enduring consideration that influenced immigrants." * The poor and the unsuccessful, the adventurous and the ambitious, those socially despised or legally under the ban, could get in America a new start in building fortune and reputation. Freedom from the burdensome conditions of European society, the opportunity to work, and the chance to become economically independent, were tempting the best blood of Europe to this fresh field.

How land was acquired by settlers.

The great underlying economic fact in this colonization was the existence in America of boundless areas of cultivable land that might be had upon easy terms. In New England, land was uniformly granted without charge to individuals and to groups of settlers. All the colonies south of New England were originally upon a proprietary basis, and the proprietors (whether individuals or companies), expected to profit by the disposal of land, as well as by trade. They often advertised in Europe for emigrants, and frequently gave farms freely to settlers. Only

* Cheney, The European Background of American History, 168

in Pennsylvania was it customary to sell the land outright. Elsewhere, it was commonly granted upon the payment of a "quit-rent," *i. e.*, an annual fee (usually one shilling for fifty acres), payable to the proprietor, or to the King when the colony became royal. The difficulty of collecting quit-rents rendered this source of revenue a disappointment.

The amount of land that might be granted to one person was usually limited. But the proportion of immigrants who were too poor to pay their passage and to establish themselves as farmers, was very large. These came and were settled at the expense of others, who thus secured "head rights"—usually fifty acres for each person brought to America. This is one way in which large estates were built up. In most cases the persons assisted were indentured servants; others became tenants and paid rent. The attempts made in several colonies to establish manors, upon which the tenants were subject to semi-feudal restrictions, were usually unsuccessful. It was so easy to become the actual owner of land that the tenant refused to enter into such relations with the landlord.

New England in 1690.

In 1690, the English colonies contained nearly 250,000 inhabitants. In New England the physical geography determined the industries, and these in turn influenced social and political conditions. This was a region of cold winters and short summers; a land of hills and forests, with a rugged sea coast and some fertile valleys. The soil, generally light, had, because of its stony character, a peculiar enduring quality. The rivers were short, giving abundant water power, but, excepting the Connecticut, little opportunity for navigation. On the coast were numerous harbors; the sea abounded in fish, and the forests furnished the best of timber. Agriculture was profitable, grains, vegetables, and stock being the principal products. But the difficulties of cultivation made small farms necessary. The Puritans continued to settle in church communities. Compactness of settlement was therefore a characteristic of New England; and this was further encouraged by the religious requirement of regular church attendance. There were many fishing

Physical conditions determine the method of settlement

towns on the coast; and with the surplus products of farms and fisheries, commerce soon became inevitable. To facilitate commerce, ship building naturally arose. On the farms and in the villages hand-made clothing, implements, and furniture were used almost exclusively. On the rapid streams were to be found grist-mills and saw-mills. In the towns, brick, pottery, glass, and shoes were manufactured. Everything was, of course, upon a small scale, and scarcely beyond the stage of domestic manufacture. Back of the compactly settled region near the coast, men exploited the forests and traded with the Indians. Industries and products.

The small farm type of agriculture and the variety of industries in New England gave the best opportunity for the individual to attain economic independence. There was a tendency toward industrial equality rather than toward the subordination of many laborers to a few employers; and this condition affected social and political life. Democracy in society and a democratic type of government were noticeable features of New England life. There were here, as everywhere in the seventeenth century, aristocratic distinctions; the old families, the official class, and the wealthy were given prominence, both by law and by custom; but the importance of the individual of whatever class was very great. Social effects.

New England was settled almost exclusively by Puritans from England. In Massachusetts the first Anglican church was founded in 1686, and in Rhode Island might be found Baptists, Quakers, and Jews. The type of religion maintained under the congregational system was very severe. The ministers were the dominant class, and they enforced the Puritan ideals of both public and private conduct most rigidly. The laws prescribing the strict observance of the Sabbath and restrictions upon dress, are examples of Puritan regulation of private conduct; at the same time the church was supported by public taxation. In their dislike of certain sports and diversions the Puritans excluded from their lives many rational pleasures. In the Religion in New England

larger towns and among the wealthier class, social diversions were common; but in the small towns and the country, life was barren and there was little to relieve the hard daily toil and the solemn devotion to rigidly conceived duty.

Education.

Education was further advanced in New England than elsewhere in the colonies. Here the common school was maintained from the beginning, and there were also many grammar schools. Harvard College was founded in 1636 at Cambridge. While the mass of people were given a rudimentary education, the purpose of higher education was preparation for the ministry. Theological discussion occupied the best minds of New England; there was little or no literature that had other themes. No profession had yet attained standing except the ministry.

Witchcraft.

The severely religious trend of thought, the barrenness of life, and the dangers from Indian attacks that impended about the year 1691, account for the occurrence in Massachusetts of the witchcraft troubles. The theory of Satanic manifestations was commonly held in European countries, and there claimed its thousands of victims. In Salem and surrounding towns, two or three hundred persons, some of them being of the highest character, were accused of having allowed themselves to become possessed by the devil. Of these, nineteen were judicially condemned and were put to death. The comparative brevity and mildness of this outburst of religious fanaticism testifies to the real saneness of the Puritan mind. Nowhere in the world at this time was life more pure or thought more elevated.

Local government.

In the local government of the New England colonies, the town meeting and the popular election of officers preserved the freest democracy in America. The colonial assemblies were vigorous bodies, and they exercised no little control over the towns. Self-government gave to New Englanders a political education which in later times had important consequences.

The South in 1690.

Life in the Southern colonies had aspects in marked contrast with the conditions existing in New England. Virginia and Maryland were most alike. Here people lived on scattered plantations, with no towns worthy the name.

The influence of physical geography

Physical environment largely accounts for this method of settlement. While attempts were made at raising other products than tobacco, all were abandoned, except corn, the staple food grain. The same fate befell the manufacturing industries that were tried at various times; mechanics were able to get land so cheaply that they drifted into tobacco raising. The rivers of the South accommodated the ocean-going vessels of the time, and so there was no necessity for towns as market places. So deeply did the rivers penetrate this region and so plentiful were the rich lands, that during the Restoration period the estates rapidly increased in size, and the "plantation system" became fully developed. One more element, cheap labor, contributed to make this system possible. Thousands of indentured servants came annually to the Southern colonies, and toward the end of this period negro slaves increased in numbers.

Industries in the South.

The great majority of the people in the Southern colonies were of English stock. In Virginia the contrast between large plantations and small farms was marked, while in North Carolina there were only scattered small farms. South Carolina was distinguished by having a large city, Charleston, which was the centre of commercial and social life. Here lived the large planters who dominated the life of the colony. Besides tobacco, corn, and live-stock, the Carolinas produced the naval stores—tar, pitch, and turpentine. Throughout the South, cotton and flax were raised on a small scale and were worked by hand into forms suitable for domestic use. But everywhere in the colonies woollens were the chief article of domestic manufacture. The Southern colonies exported large quantities of their staple products. Few vessels were constructed here. Ships owned by New Englanders brought to them fish from the North, tropical products and slaves from the West Indies, and manufactured articles from Europe.

Southern society.

While many Puritans settled in the South, especially in Maryland and South Carolina, the majority of the people

were Anglicans. Religious convictions exercised no such influence as in New England. Both social and political life felt the influence of the dominant economic interest in the plantation colonies. Tendencies worked toward aristocracy rather than toward democracy. The home of the planter was the centre of a small community. Indentured servants and slaves tilled his broad acres, while other workmen made the common implements, furniture, and clothing. The plantation was self-sufficing, except for the finer qualities of cloths, furnishings, books, medicines, and jewelry, which were imported from Europe. The small farmer could hardly compete with the planter and his family, either economically or socially, and he consequently tended to move westward to the frontier, which had not yet reached the mountains. Here, too, he found cheaper land.

Local government.

In the South, as in New England, the colonists adapted to their new environment certain forms of local government to which they had been accustomed at home. The smallest local division, the parish, became less important than was the town in New England, because of the sparseness of population. The parish was governed by a group of men called the vestry, which had charge of church affairs and the relief of the poor. The most important functions of local government were exercised in the larger unit, the county. A board of justices, known as the county court, levied taxes and made local regulations, besides sitting as a court to try cases. The sheriff was an important county officer, having in his hands the collection and expenditure of public money. Members of the county court were appointed by the governor, and vacancies in the vestry were filled by the remaining vestrymen. Thus, in the absence of town meetings and popular elections, local government in the South fell into the hands of the influential planter class.

In the South, both religious life and educational interests suffered on account of the method of settlement, the

sparseness of population, and the difficulty of travel. The Anglican ministers in these colonies were not the intellectual or religious leaders of the people. Efforts to establish public schools were largely failures, though many private elementary schools were maintained. The planters' sons were taught at home, and often completed their education in English schools and colleges.

The Middle colonies in 1690.

Conditions of life were much more varied in the Middle colonies than in either New England or the South. The people, as we have seen (pp. 74, 82), were of many nationalities. While agriculture was the dominant industry,

Dutch Cottage in Beaver Street, New York, 1679

there were many flourishing towns and two large ports, New York and Philadelphia. Intercolonial trade and foreign commerce stood second to agriculture in importance. Philadelphia was the centre of trade for the region bordering on Delaware Bay and River; and its shipping carried abroad large quantities of grains, meats, and furs, returning with imports from the West Indies and Europe. Ship-building early became an important industry in Pennsylvania. New York City was the centre of commerce for the Hudson River region. Here the fur trade

Industries.

was of greater consequence than anywhere else in the colonies.

Social life. Life in New York presented aristocratic tendencies. This is accounted for by the presence of large estates on the Hudson and the importance of the official class in New York City. But elsewhere in the Middle colonies there existed economic and social equality. The professional classes were at this time weak and unimportant. There was a great variety of religious sects. Dutch Reformed, Congregational, Lutheran, and Jewish churches existed in New York; while Quakers, Lutherans, and other Protestant sects flourished in Pennsylvania. Nowhere in these colonies were public schools to be found. Education was at a low stage in New York, but there were good private schools in Pennsylvania.

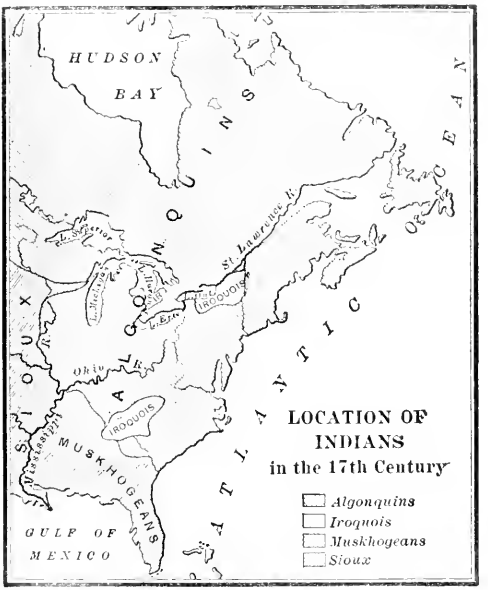
Local government in the Middle colonies included both towns and counties; but here the functions were quite equally divided between these organizations, instead of being chiefly confined to one or the other, as in New England and the South.

THE COLONISTS AND THE INDIANS.

The Indians of eastern North America. The colonists came into contact with three great groups of Indians. The largest of these constituted the Algonquin family, occupying nearly all of the region east of the Alleghany Mountains, as well as the Ohio and upper Mississippi basins. Prominent in this family were the Narragansetts, Pequots, Powhatans, Delawares, Illinois, and Ojibwas. South of Kentucky, extending to Florida and the Gulf, was the Muskhogean family. The Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles belonged to this family. The Iroquois Indians occupied the region of central New York State and upper Canada (see pp. 105, 106), while an independent branch of this family was situated on the western borders of the Carolinas.

The earliest settlers in the English colonies were indebted to the Indians in several ways. They learned the

Indians' methods of hunting, fishing, and trapping; also, the value of maize and how to produce it upon new land. Thus colonization was assisted by a more available food supply. The Indians' canoe and their methods of travel and fighting were also adopted by the settlers.



Location of Indians in the Seventeenth Century

On the other hand, the natives soon acquired from the whites tools and utensils, especially guns; these, together with cloth and horses, changed in many ways the character of their daily life. They learned few virtues, but acquired destructive vices, especially the use of intoxicants. Some efforts were made by the English to convert the Indians, but they were conducted, on the whole, without enthusiasm or persistence. The loud profession of missionary zeal with which the English colonization began was not made good.

In the New England colonies, Massachusetts especially, some efforts were made to convert the Indians. These were most successful in the work of John Eliot, who brought about four thousand Indians to adopt Christianity and civilized ways of living. John and Charles Wesley made unsuccessful missionary efforts in Georgia.

The relations of the Indians with the settlers.

The history of Indian relations in colonial times is one of continual strife. This was inevitable at that period in the contact between a superior and an inferior race. Of incidental causes for these troubles there was a large variety; the vicious and the drunken, whether whites or Indians, were especially numerous on the frontier, and they were ever ready to commit outrages and to begin quarrels. But the fundamental cause for this condition was the land question. The character of Indian industry, which was mainly hunting and fishing, with comparatively slight attention to agriculture, and the frequent movements of most tribes from one locality to another, made the Indians *occupants* rather than *owners* of the land in the true sense. In their simplicity and short-sightedness they were ever ready to part with their right of occupancy; but they did not comprehend the white man's idea of permanent transfer and possession. The purchase of Indian lands was a universal practice in colonial times. The different colonial governments undertook to regulate this subject by law, prohibiting the settlers from occupying lands until the Indian title was extinguished. The laws enjoined in many ways the fair treatment of the Indians in other transactions; for instance, the sale of fire-arms and liquors was quite generally prohibited. These laws, however, were little obeyed.

Disputes over land.

Trouble arose as soon as the natives realized the slow but sure advance of the whites into the country and the permanency of this process. Hunting grounds were destroyed, and the strip between the frontier of settlement and the Alleghany Mountains became gradually narrower. The Indians were able to make but spasmodic, and on the whole, feeble, resistance to the advance of settlement be-

cause they did not present a united front; and this in turn was owing to their lack of political organization.

Political organization of the Indians.

The lowest organization of social and political life among the Indians was the clan—a group of related families. Clans elected sachems, and chiefs, or war leaders. The number of these officers varied according to the number of available men; their authority was also a matter of popularity and influence. The clans were united into tribes, the governing body of which was the tribal council composed of the chiefs just mentioned. The council had authority over questions of war and peace, and inter-tribal relations. Of higher organizations among the eastern Indians the only permanent example was the Iroquois confederacy with which the English and Dutch settlers were in alliance during the seventeenth century. There were temporary leagues among other tribes at various times; but in the main the settlers were confronted by separate tribes, with vacillating policies, rather than by a compact nation capable of effectually resisting the invasion of their lands.

Under these circumstances the result was inevitable: civilization triumphed over savagery, doubtless through the commission of innumerable wrongs, in our judgment of which we must remember the ethical standards of that time and the failure of each race to comprehend the other's point of view.

The century of colonization shows two great tendencies

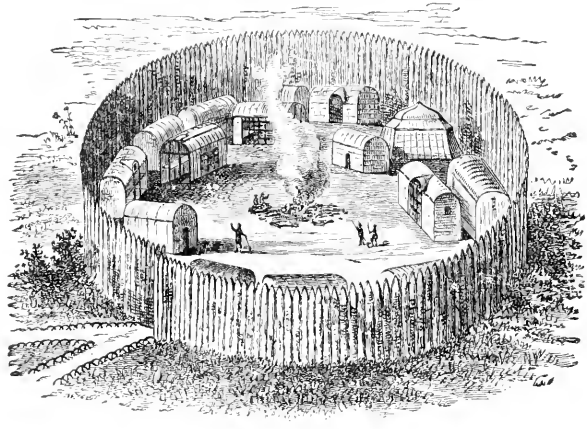
To understand the real meaning of this century of colonization in America, we must take account of two general facts. One is the preservation among the colonists of the old European life in a new environment; the other is the tendency toward a different type of life under the new conditions. At the end of the seventeenth century, the colonies were in reality an outlying part of Europe. Isolated from each other, their social and economic relations were chiefly with the mother country. The creation of even the weakest semblance to a national life was the work of the next century and the outcome of many struggles against Indian and French foes here in America, and finally against the English government. Until then, the most striking characteristic of colonial life is the conservative preservation of manners and customs,

The preservation of European civilization.

industries and ideas, political rights and processes that were the fruit of centuries of growth in Europe.

The tendency toward freedom.

Turning now to the new tendencies, we find a growth away from social class distinctions and toward greater industrial and political freedom than Old World conditions permitted. There were several reasons for this: (1) The colonists were mainly from the middle and lower classes, those least favored by aristocratic institutions. (2) In



Palisaded Indian Village
From De Bry

America the struggle for existence was at first hard, tending to place all men upon a basis of social equality. (3) The free ownership of land, and the unlimited supply of new land made an oppressive landlord system impossible. (4) The removal of monarchical control gave opportunity for the rise into prominence of those free local institutions with which Englishmen had been in a measure familiar.

The keynote of this tendency is *democracy*. The seventeenth century saw its beginnings, but saw also the beginning of a policy of imperial control (see pp. 87, 89) that threatened its development. The problem of eighteenth-century colonial history is the balancing of these two

forces: the political and economic *freedom* of colonial life versus *control* exercised by the home government through its agents in America. Which of these forces was destined to become dominant?

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Charles II's policy towards the New England Colonies. Fisher, Colonial Era, 149–151. Lodge, English Colonies, 376–377; 389–390. Fiske, Beginnings of New England, 191–198. Thwaites, The Colonies, 166–170.

2. Bacon's Rebellion. Fiske, Old Virginia, II, 54–67; 96–107. Thwaites, 78–79. Lodge, 19–23.

3. The rule of Andros. Fiske, Beginnings of New England, 267–278. Fisher, Colonial Era, 159–164.

4. Relations of England with the colonies. Thwaites, The Colonies, 166–167. Lodge, 354–361. Elson, History of the United States, 120–127.

5. Show how the economic law of supply and demand as determining price is illustrated in this chapter.

6. Make a list of facts showing the colonists' love of self-government in this period.

7. Was the proposed policy of imperial control a reasonable one? Andrews, Colonial Self-government, 36–40.

8. On indentured servants, see Fiske, Old Virginia, II, 176–189. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 78–83. On slavery, Fiske, 190–203. Bogart, 83–86.

9. The colonists' relations with Indians. Fiske, Beginnings of New England, 199–206. Coman, Industrial History of the United States, 43–45.

10. Education in the Colonies. Lodge, English Colonies, 464–466. Hart, Contemporaries, II, No. 95. Fiske, Old Virginia, II, 116–119; 123–129; 245–254.

11. Colonial religion. Lodge, English Colonies, 429–438. Earle, the Sabbath in Puritan New England.

12. How may the colonies be grouped according to industries? Andrews, 334–336.

13. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 7.

14. Fiction. Goodwin, White Aprons (Virginia). Hawthorne, Scarlet Letter (Puritans). Bynner, The Begum's Daughter (New York).

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA

THE BEGINNINGS OF COLONIZATION

Revival of French colonization.

THE work of French explorers and the feeble attempts made at colonization during the first half of the sixteenth century (see pp. 28–30) were interrupted by unfavorable European conditions. The victory of Henry IV over the warring factions that opposed his accession to the throne of France, and the Edict of Nantes (1598)* issued by him, finally brought peace; and with peace came a revived interest in American exploration. During the entire century French fishermen had visited the banks off Newfoundland and had traded with the Indians of the adjacent coasts. It seemed natural, therefore, that this region should be the scene of French colonization.

First period, 1603–1635.

Champlain.

For a third of a century, the principal figure in this story is that of Samuel de Champlain, whose strong character and persistent labors have won the greatest admiration. Like many other soldiers of the wars of Henry IV, Champlain found an outlet for his energies in time of peace by undertaking voyages of discovery.† When, in 1604, De Monts was granted by the government of France a monopoly of the fur trade between the parallels 40° and 46°, Champlain, as royal geographer, sailed with him to

* This Edict gave the Huguenots privileges, including legal equality and religious freedom, except in certain cities.

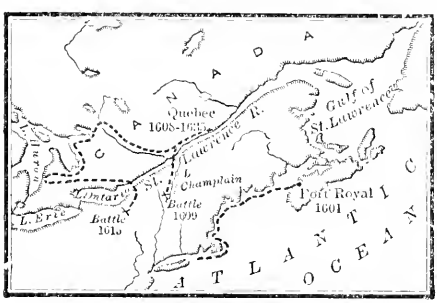
† He first visited Central America and Mexico. While at Panama he commented upon the advantages that would accrue from the construction of an isthmian canal.

found a colony. This became Port Royal, on the Bay of Fundy, at the present site of Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

For several years Champlain led exploring expeditions down the New England coast, nearly as far as Rhode Island. In these and similar explorations in the St. Lawrence valley, he took careful note of geographical features and Indian life. His accounts are extremely valuable for his descriptions of Indian life before its contact with civilization.

His motives and Indian policy.

The renewal of the De Monts grant in 1608 brought Champlain to the St. Lawrence River, where he founded Quebec in that year. It was his purpose "to find a way to China, avoiding at the same time the cold of the North and the heat of the South." Upon the basis of stories of "great waters" that lay to the westward, Champlain imagined the nearness of the Pacific Ocean. He was mindful also of the advantages to be gained from the fur trade and from discoveries of gold mines. The conversion of the Indians soon became another prominent motive in his work. He bargained with the Algonquin Indians to assist them in their wars with the Iroquois if they would help him in his western explorations. This agreement was kept when, in 1609, Champlain accompanied a war party of his Indian friends up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers to the beautiful Lake Champlain, which he was the first white man to visit. Here they met and defeated an Iroquois party. In 1615, Champlain ascended the Ottawa River, entered Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, and, returning by way



The Explorations of Champlain

of Lake Ontario, entered the heart of the Iroquois country (now central New York State). Here his Indian allies unsuccessfully attacked a fortified Iroquois village.

The Iroquois Indians.

The Iroquois were "the fiercest, boldest, most politic, and most ambitious savages to whom the American forest has ever given birth." * Their villages were well fortified by palisades. Two other facts gave the Iroquois great strength. (1) Their geographical position, upon the head-waters of streams flowing in every direction, made both defence and attack easier for them than for their enemies. (2) We find among the Iroquois the best example of a permanent confederacy among Indian tribes north of Mexico. The five "nations" of this confederacy were the Mohawks, Onęidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. For two generations they scarcely ceased their attacks upon the St. Lawrence settlements (Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal), murdering the inhabitants, terrifying the garrisons, and thus deterring greatly the progress of that colony. In the meantime the Iroquois established friendly relations with the Dutch. When the English conquered New York they succeeded to the Iroquois friendship, continued to furnish them with guns in trade, and incited them to attack the French.

Their influence.

Champlain's efforts to plant an agricultural colony were opposed at the court of France by persons whose interests were in the fur trade. At Champlain's death, 1635, the colony on the St. Lawrence contained not more than sixty persons, sustained chiefly by supplies brought from France. During this period began the Jesuit missionary activity, which was so prominent a feature of French colonization. With the greatest devotion and with untold suffering, these priests pursued their unselfish work.

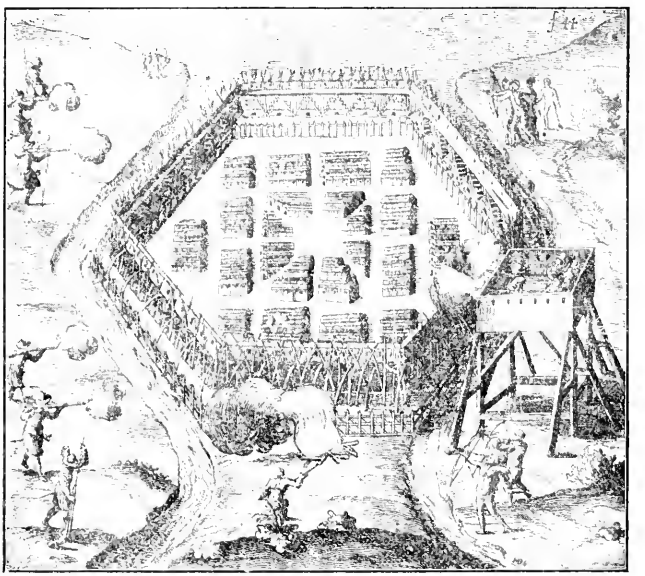
The second period of French colonization, 1635–1663.

During the second period of French colonization, from the death of Champlain to the accession of Colbert as minister to Louis XIV, the colony increased in population to 2,500; but it was still upon a weak foundation. A trading company, the Hundred Associates (1626–1663), headed by Richelieu held a monopoly of the fur trade, and their profits were divided among the stockholders instead of

* Parkman, Pioneers of France, 389. The Hurons were of Iroquois stock, but they refused to join the confederacy of the Five Nations.

going toward the upbuilding of a strong colony in Canada. Here, as in the English colonies, it was proved that mere mercantile interest was not adequate to the establishment of a self-supporting colony. The Iroquois utterly destroyed the Huron villages (1648) and broke up the western fur trade.

Colbert applied his policy of industrial administration in France to the colony in America. Here his able assistant



Champlain's Plan of the Fort of the Iroquois

From a copy of the First Edition of the Voyages of 1619, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building)

was the intendant Talon. The colony was supplied with more soldiers; its debt and the expenses of its maintenance were assumed by the King. "The new settler was found by the King, sent over by the King, and supplied by the King with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house." Large tracts of land were granted to *seigneurs* who were to establish settlers upon them. Thus, the actual cultivators

Third period of colonization, 1663–1689.

of the soil were tenants, and were restricted in various ways. Their farms lay in ribbon-like strips running back from the river front.

The fur trade.

The fur trade was a constant influence undermining the strength of New France as an agricultural colony. The wild, free life of the bushrangers (*coureurs du bois*), coupled with the chances for great profit, drew young men into the western wilderness. Here the interlacing water-ways offered a perpetual inducement for penetrating the forests to their farthest extremities.

Frontenac.

Much of the strength gained by New France during the third period of its history (1663–1689) must be attributed to the work of its great governor, Count Frontenac. He extended his influence in two directions: (1) along the great water-ways of the Mississippi Valley, and (2) among the Iroquois Indians.

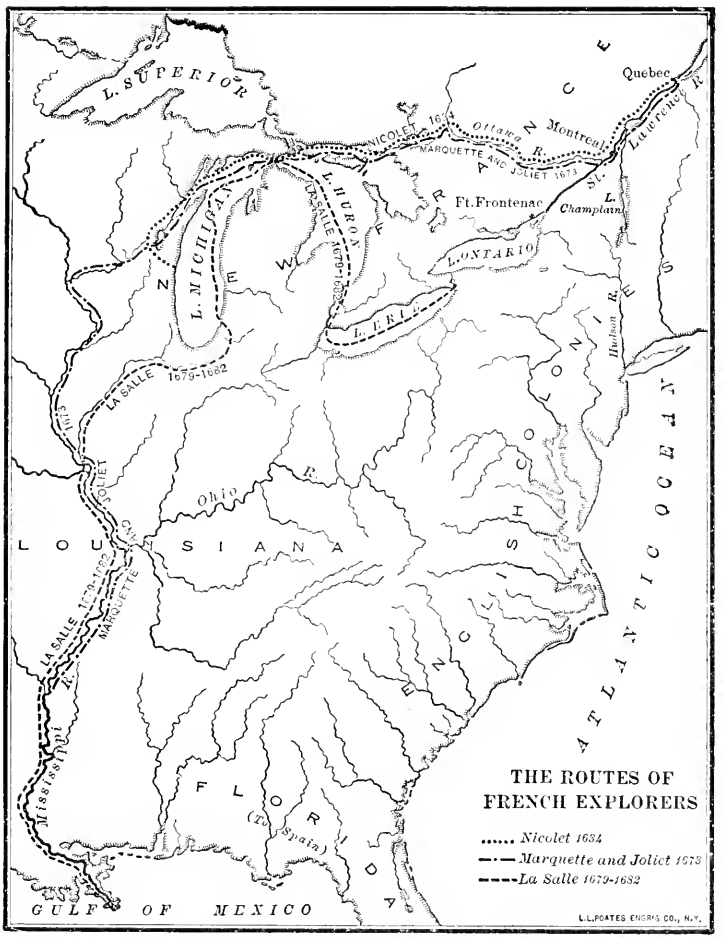
Exploration by Nicolet, 1634.

One of the last acts of Champlain's administration was the commissioning of a young French interpreter, Jean Nicolet, to find a water-way leading to the Pacific. Champlain had heard of a strange people who dwelt upon a western shore and who had come from across "the great water." Were they Chinese? Nicolet, ascending the Ottawa River and passing through Lakes Huron and Michigan, entered and ascended Green Bay. Here he found the "strange people," who proved to be Winnebago Indians, a branch of the Sioux family, whose home was west of the Mississippi.

The exploration of Nicolet was tardily followed up. In 1659–1660 and subsequent years, two traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, penetrated to the western extremity of Lake Superior. Passing thence southward along the rivers of Wisconsin, they doubtless reached and crossed the Mississippi River.

Joliet and Marquette, 1673

In 1673, Talon selected Louis Joliet as an official explorer to follow the Mississippi and determine whether it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California. Starting from Quebec, Joliet stopped at the Jesuit mission at Mackinac, where he was joined by Father Marquette. Theirs was a wonderful journey, through Green Bay, up



The Routes of French Explorers

the Fox River, and down the lower Wisconsin and the Mississippi, as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. From here they returned, being practically certain that the river would not carry them to the Pacific coast.

La Salle.

Greatest in the long list of French explorers was La Salle. Between La Salle and Frontenac there was "the sympathetic attraction of two bold and energetic spirits." They wished that the buffalo skins and heavy peltries of the western streams might find an outlet by transportation down the Mississippi River. This, too, would put within French control a waterway, which, unlike the St. Lawrence, was not frozen for a great part of the year.

A possible portrait of Marquette

His western journeys.

Fort Frontenac was established on Lake Ontario as an advanced post from which the fur trade might be controlled. Then, in 1679, La Salle built on Niagara River, above the falls, a sailing vessel, *The Griffon*. In it he sailed through Lakes Erie and Huron, and entered Lake Michigan. From the head of Lake Michigan La Salle proceeded by way of the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers to the Illinois, where he established a post called Crevecœur.* Later, he made several journeys between Canada and the Illinois country. The crowning event of this history is his successful descent of the Mississippi to its mouth (1682), where he took formal possession of all the land drained by its tributaries under the name Louisiana. He then founded Fort St. Louis, at Starved Rock, on the Illinois River, as a means of maintaining French ascendency among the tribes of that region.

*The present site of Peoria, Ill.

On his first journey to Illinois, La Salle was accompanied by Tonty, one of the bravest French explorers.

Hennepin and Du Lhut

Father Hennepin also accompanied La Salle to Crevecœur, and thence ascended the Mississippi to northern Minnesota. Here he was a captive among the Sioux Indians, and met the fur trader Du Lhut, by whom he was rescued. La Salle desired to establish a military post and depot at the mouth of the Mississippi; for this purpose he transported colonists directly from France to the Gulf of Mexico. But the ships missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and the colony wasted away on the Texan shore. La Salle was murdered while attempting to reach Canada to find aid for this colony (1687).

Frontenac's policy toward the Iroquois was to conciliate and intimidate them by turns. He succeeded but temporarily. The Iroquois raided the entire West as far as the Mississippi and southward to the Ohio. Nowhere was a French trader safe from their attacks. For these offences they were severely punished by Frontenac's successor, Denonville, but they were not permanently subdued until the time of Frontenac's return to America (1689–1698), during the period of the first French and Indian war.

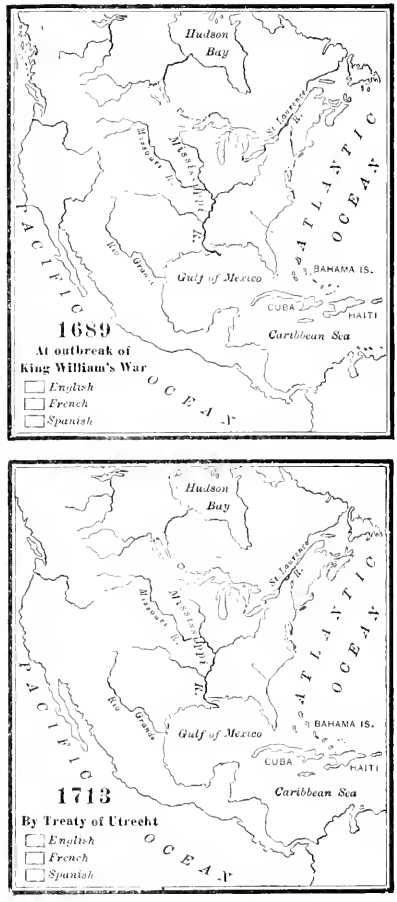
THE FRENCH WARS AND FURTHER COLONIZATION

Causes of the wars in America.

At three points the conflicting interests of the French and the English in America brought the colonists to the point of war. (1) The fisheries of northern Atlantic waters were invaded by the enterprising New Englanders. (2) The limits of Acadia on the west were disputed by the settlers of Maine. (3) Both nations claimed jurisdiction over the Mississippi Valley. This dispute, like that over Acadia, involved more than a theoretical title to an uninhabited region. Practically it involved the friendship or enmity of powerful Indian tribes and the profits of their trade. No peace between the rival colonists could be expected while the Iroquois, under English influence, terrorized the western tribes, and diverted the furs to their own country, where they acted as middlemen in selling the furs to the English at Albany.

Comparison of the combatants.

Four wars were fought in the struggle for American territory. On which side were the greater military advantages? The government of New France was highly centralized, and hence the military resources of the colony were in immediate and effective control from Quebec. The English colonies, on the other hand, were disunited, jealous, and at first penurious; they were slow, too, in rallying in sufficient force to meet their enemies. Again, the French had the advantage in the support of larger numbers of Indian allies than the English could command; but these fickle friends readily deserted the French when the latter suffered defeat.



North America in 1689 and 1713

In the end the final struggle for the possession of North America was to be determined largely by the "staying qualities" of the combatants. In this respect the English were greatly superior; for they were

backed by the greater population and wealth of the colonies, and by the superior resources, particularly the naval power, of the mother country.

European causes.

The actual outbreak of hostilities awaited the course of events in Europe. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV (1685), and the consequent persecution of the Huguenots, aroused the anger of Englishmen. The dismissal of James II from the English throne (1688), and the subsequent favor shown to him by Louis, added fuel to the fires of passion in both countries. Finally, the invitation to William of Orange to ascend the throne of England, led directly to the War of the Palatinate (1689–1697).

King William's War, 1689–1697.

The struggle in America, known as King William's War, divides itself into three phases. (1) There was attack and counter attack in the Iroquois region; these Indians devastated La Chine, while the French and Indians destroyed Schenectady. (2) The severest attacks of the French fell upon the outlying settlements of Maine, Dover, Pemaquid, and Salmon Falls. (3) The revenge for these attacks was planned at an intercolonial congress held at New York (1690). Here plans were made for a concerted land-and-water attack upon Quebec and Montreal, but they failed through mismanagement. The treaty of peace that ended the war in Europe (Treaty of Ryswick, 1697), left the combatants with the same territorial limits in America as before, and the same causes for enmity.

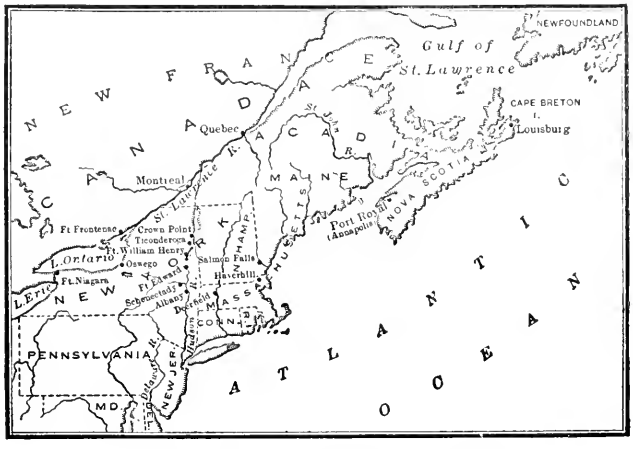
Queer Anne's War, 1701–1713.

The last struggle of Louis XIV against his enemies in Europe, precipitated by his attempt to unite the thrones of France and Spain, is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. In America it gave occasion for Queen Anne's War. Again the French and Indians fell upon the outlying New England settlements; Wells, Saco, Casco, Deerfield, and Haverhill were stricken. In revenge, the New Englanders captured Port Royal, Acadia, and at the conclusion of the war this important station was retained by the English and named Annapolis. The surrounding

country, with indefinite limits, became Nova Scotia. The English likewise obtained Newfoundland and the French gave up their claims to the borders of Hudson's Bay. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), whose terms as they affect America have just been stated, was the beginning of the downfall of French colonial power in America. (See map p. 112.)

The extension of French power in the West.

In the years immediately preceding and following Queen Anne's War, the French were actively pursuing their policy of establishing military and trading posts throughout the West. These were all situated at strategic points, guard-



The French and Indian Wars, 1689–1748

ing important water-ways and routes of travel. As the posts of Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie were stations on the older routes of the northern waters, so Detroit was founded (1701) to aid in controlling the more direct routes to the Mississippi. Fort Miami on the Maumee and Fort St. Joseph, on the river of that name, had been located on important routes of travel. In the Illinois country the posts at Cahokia (1669) and Kaskaskia (1700) were trad-

ing centres, and near them Fort Chartres was built in 1720. At about the same time the French built a fort on the upper Wabash River; and by 1727 they had another stronghold at Vincennes. At Mobile (1701) and New Orleans (1718) French power was upheld on the Gulf. Fort Rosalie was early established near the present site of Natchez.

Such was the French "chain of posts" reaching from Quebec to New Orleans. The weakness of this method of occupation lay in the sparseness of population found within the territory. A handful of soldiers was all that France could spare for all her posts; these could not move aggressively against the English frontier—the Alleghany Mountains. Besides the soldiers, the huts that were crowded within the palisades of the western posts sheltered the *coureurs du bois*, who came and went on their trading expeditions. Here, too, in most cases were a few hardy peasants (*habitants*) who dared till the soil within easy reach of the posts. Watching over this varied collection of French subjects were the priests, everywhere working to bring the Indians within their influence.

The inhabitants of the posts

Another European struggle (the War of the Austrian Succession) gave occasion for the outbreak of King George's War in America (1744–1748). Soon after the preceding war the French had begun to spend money lavishly in making an impregnable fortress at the town and harbor of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island. Louisburg's position made it the guardian of the St. Lawrence; here French fleets could rendezvous. It was the base of supplies from which the English fishing fleets were menaced. It is not strange, therefore, that New Englanders should organize an expedition against it. Sheer pluck and bravery, with the assistance of an English fleet, won a memorable victory, and Louisburg fell (1745). Great was the disappointment and anger of the captors when this important post was returned to the French.*

King George's War, 1744–1748.

* The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) confirmed the English possession of Bombay, India; and this accounts for the surrender of Louisburg.

116 French Posts and Portages in the West

The final struggle in America could not be long postponed; the outcome depended partly upon the character of the French colony in America. In 1750, the white population of New France (including Acadia, Canada, and Louisiana) was about 80,000; in marked contrast, the English colonies contained at that date more than a million people. The causes for this difference are found partly in the motives that prompted colonization in the two mother countries. Political and religious persecution had worked powerfully to depopulate France; but the exiled Huguenots were, after 1685, absolutely forbidden to settle within the limits of New France. Consequently, those who crossed the Atlantic added their strength to the English colonies. (See p. 76.) Moreover, the French lacked the colonizing spirit that characterized the English—that desire for economic improvement through the toilsome process of building homes in a new land. The spirit of adventure, the missionary spirit, and the desire for gain by trade were the motives of the colonists who came to New France voluntarily; still others were sent, either as soldiers or as settlers. The natural increase of population in Canada was slow.

The people of New France.

The leading industry of New France was the fur trade. Geographical conditions account for this fact, and the effect of this industry was to strengthen the wandering and adventurous tendencies of the people. The agricultural system prevailing in the colony did nothing to foster a self-reliant and progressive class of farmers. Here, as in the paternalistic policy already outlined (p. 107), the people were trained in dependence, rather than in self-reliance.

Their industries.

This fact is still more plainly seen in the governmental system of the colony. The Governor-General and the Intendant were the chief executive officers, and these were appointed by the crown of France. Instead of having distinct functions, these officers continually

Their government.

clashed.* These secular officers were also in frequent conflict with the church officials, who likewise received appointment in France. The existence of the fur-trade monopoly was another disturbing element in the situation. For the violation of the law granting the monopoly often yielded rich rewards, which sorely tempted both settlers and officers.

No representative government.

There existed no elected legislative body in either the central or the local government of New France. An effort of Frontenac to set up an elected council at Quebec met a rebuke from Colbert, who ordered its discontinuance, saying, "You should very rarely, or, to speak more correctly, never, give a corporate form to the inhabitants of Canada." Instead, therefore, of having a voice in their local affairs, the people obeyed the commands of their rulers, and these in turn were subject to constant and minute direction by the King and his ministers at Paris.

WESTWARD MIGRATION AND THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The influence of physical geography.

The movement of the English colonists westward from the Atlantic Ocean was influenced most profoundly by physical geography. It has already been noted that the physical characteristics of New England promoted coast-line settlement mainly. The geography of the South, on the other hand, was favorable to an industry that caused the expansion of settlers over a larger area. Here, however, the coastal plain was much wider.

The first advance of settlement in any section was to the *fall line*. This name has been given to a line connecting the points on rivers where rapids indicate the limits of the coastal plain proper. As far inland as these points extends the "tide-water" region, where tidal influence can be felt. Beyond the fall line

* In fact, it was the deliberate policy of the home government to avoid separating the jurisdictions of the Governor and the Intendant, to the end that they might spy upon each other. Am. Hist. Review, XII, 25–26.

ocean vessels could not go; water power was often developed at these points. These considerations determined the location of cities: on the fall line are situated Philadelphia, Washington, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Raleigh, Camden, and Columbia.

Population in the English Colonies.

By 1700 population had advanced somewhat beyond the fall line, but the region westward to the mountains was unexplored. It was a remarkable feat performed by Governor Spotswood of Virginia when, in 1716, he led a body of horsemen as far west as the Blue Ridge, where they viewed the beautiful "Valley of Virginia"—the Shenandoah Valley. Spotswood was one of the few who saw the strategic importance of possessing this region and holding the mountain passes against the advance of the French.

Governor Spotswood

The first mountain settlers.

Fur traders were the first to penetrate the wild mountain regions of the Alleghanies. These returned with accounts of fertile valleys and wide plains beyond. In New York westward advance was checked by the Catskill Mountains, and in the Mohawk Valley the Iroquois Indians were long a barrier in the way. In the extreme South, the people of both Georgia and South Carolina were deterred from settle-

ment in the West by the hostility of the Indians on their borders. Hence it was that the mountain valleys were first settled in Pennsylvania, where the Scotch-Irish and the Germans * found ready access to them by way of the Susquehanna River and its tributaries.

The movement in the valleys.

The movement of these mountain settlers was not, however, due westward. Better lands were to be found farther south, and in this direction the river valleys opened the line of least resistance. From Pennsylvania, then, the first settlers came into the Shenandoah Valley (about 1732). Others pushed farther on, finding the head-waters of the New and Greenbriar rivers that feed the Great Kanawha, a tributary of the Ohio; and the head-waters of the Holston, Clinch, and French Broad rivers that feed the Tennessee. These mountain frontiersmen were reënforced by settlers from Virginia, many of whom were ex-indentured servants, and from North Carolina.†

The Ohio Company.

In 1748, a body of prominent Virginians organized the Ohio Company and the next year obtained a grant of land west of the mountains in Virginia. Their purpose was to engage in the fur trade and to colonize the lands. Their post at Will's Creek (later Cumberland, Md.), was on the mountain trail that ran westward to a tributary of the Monongahela River. The activity of English traders in the Ohio country and this project of the Ohio Company for settlement were answered by the French when they sent an expedition under Celeron, which followed the Alleghany

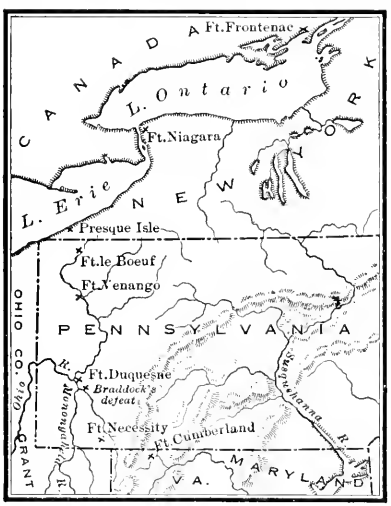
* For discussion of Scotch-Irish and Germans, see pp. 76, 129.

† "These pioneers were of different type from the planters of the South, or the merchants and seamen of the New England coast. The Scotch-Irish element was ascendant, and this contentious, self-reliant, hardy, backwoods stock, with its rude and vigorous forest life, gave the tone to Western thought in the Revolutionary era. A log hut, a little clearing, edged by the primeval forest, with the palisaded fort near by—this was the type of home they made. As they pushed the frontier on, they held their lands at the price of their blood shed in incessant struggles with the Indians." Turner, Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era. Am. Hist. Review, I, 72–73.

and Ohio rivers down to the mouth of the Great Miami. Leaden plates were buried at various points inscribed with the claim of France to the entire region. This presaged the final struggle between the French and the English in America.

The most vital point of contact between the rival colonizing powers was the upper Ohio Valley. The next move of the French was the establishment of a series of posts—Presque Isle on Lake Erie and Forts Le Bœuf and Venango on the Alleghany River. In response to this action, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent George Washington, whose experience as a surveyor on the frontier qualified him for the enterprise, to warn the French that they had encroached upon English territory. The warning proved futile and the French proceeded to erect Fort Du Quesne, at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela rivers—the most important point on the western frontier. When, the next year, Washington was sent with a small force to drive the French from this post, he was defeated; being forced to surrender at Fort Necessity (July 4, 1754), he withdrew to Virginia.

French posts on the Alleghany.



Western Forts—French and Indian War

The situation was now critical, and though France and England were nominally at peace in Europe, each made active preparations for guarding its possessions in America.

The Albany Congress, 1754.

In 1754 the New England colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland sent delegates to a congress at Albany. This congress renewed the alliance with the Iroquois, and then discussed plans for a union of the colonies that would render their military forces more efficient. The plan adopted was drawn up by Benjamin Franklin. It provided for a President-General, to be appointed by the crown, and a Grand Council to be composed of delegates elected by the colonial assemblies. In the latter feature the English Government saw too much of colonial self-government and so rejected the plan. The colonial assemblies, on the other hand, objected to the presence of a royal officer, and none of them approved the measure.

The last French and Indian War, 1755–1760.

The situation in America when the French and Indian War began in earnest reveals four principal points of attack and defence. (1) Fort Du Quesne was essential to the power that would hold the West. (2) Fort Niagara guarded the French communications with Du Quesne, with the Iroquois Indians, and with Detroit and Mackinac. (3) The Lake Champlain route was the most direct line of communication between New York and Canada. (4) Louisburg was essential in the naval defence of Quebec; and it menaced English interests on the Atlantic coast.

Years of defeat for the English.

During the years 1755–1757 the French were, in general, successful, chiefly because of the incompetency of the English officers. Braddock's expedition against Fort Du Quesne (1755) resulted in a terrible defeat; but it served to arouse the colonists to more prompt action. For three years, while the French held Du Quesne, the frontiers of neighboring colonies were harassed by Indian attacks. Unfortunately, the authorities and people of the tide-water regions refused to send adequate means of defence to the frontier.

In 1756, English attempts against Niagara and Louisburg failed, and Oswego fell into French hands. In the Lake Champlain region a French force under Montcalm pushed their line forward and built Fort Ticonderoga.

From here they successfully attacked the English Fort William Henry. (See map, p. 114.)

But a new day dawned for the cause of England when William Pitt assumed control of the government. The personality of this great man—his faith in himself, in the people, and in the destiny of England—aroused great enthusiasm in both England and America. The Seven

William Pitt and his policy.

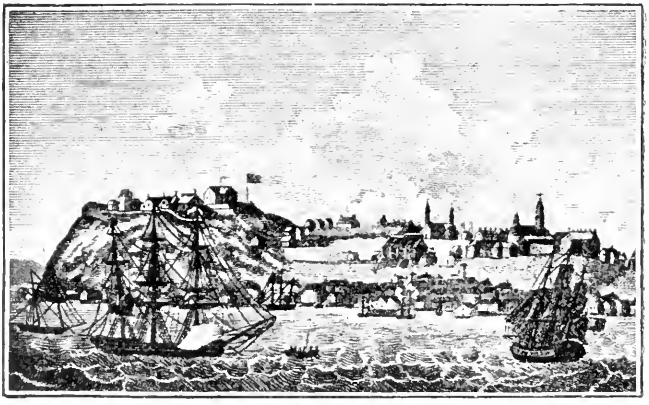
William Pitt
From the National Portrait Gallery

Years' War had begun in Europe (1756). Pitt sent aid to Frederick the Great of Prussia in his single-handed struggle against France, Austria, and Russia. He put men and money into the war in America and sent over competent commanders. Generals Wolfe and Amherst took Louisburg (1758), and so made possible the naval attack upon Quebec. Fort Frontenac was captured. A well-

organized expedition under General Forbes crossed the Alleghanies from Philadelphia and secured Fort Du Quesne. The other French posts in that neighborhood were then abandoned, and in 1759 Fort Niagara capitulated. Thus the French posts of the far West were cut off from communication with Canada.

The siege and capture of Quebec, 1759.

The war now concentrated upon Quebec, whose defences were commanded by Montcalm. While a naval force under Saunders, coöperating with the troops under Wolfe, held close siege during the summer months of 1759, a



View of Quebec from Point Levi

tardy expedition under Amherst moved northward from Lake Champlain, but failed to render assistance. The strategic problem, which almost baffled the energy and skill of Wolfe, was at last solved in a most dramatic, and to the French unexpected, attack upon the rear of Quebec. Here, by the battle upon the Plains of Abraham, the outcome of the war was virtually decided. With the fall of Montreal in the next year, the conquest of Canada was complete.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) were dictated largely upon the basis of European politics. (1) England

returned to France some of her West Indian islands which had been captured. (2) All the former French possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi were ceded to England. (3) France ceded her claims west of the Mississippi* to Spain. (4) England had been at war with Spain also, and had captured Manila and Havana. These were restored, and, in exchange, England received Florida.

The Treaty of Paris, 1763.

European Possessions by Treaty of Paris

The consequences of this war were momentous. On its American side, it determined the possibility of westward expansion for the English people, with the ideas and institutions that are fundamental in the United States of today. In its immediate effects the war gave military training to the colonists; it gave them self-confidence; and of the British troops and officers they acquired accurate ideas that were to be of service in years not distant. The colonists also had some experience in coöperative efforts against a common enemy. Finally, it was not unobserved at the time that the banishment of the French power from America removed the necessity for colonial dependence upon the British Government, a necessity which had hitherto been distinctly felt.

Results of the war in America.

* The island of Orleans, including the city, went with the western part to Spain. Thus France lost every foot of her colonial empire on the continent; but she retained fishing rights in Newfoundland waters and two small islands (St. Pierre and Miquelon), south of Newfoundland.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World. Champlain's early life and voyages, 236–242. Settlements in Acadia, 243–275. Founding of Quebec, 324–338. Expedition of 1609 against Iroquois, 339–352. Second expedition against Iroquois, 399–416 (map). Champlain's character and work, 446–454.

2. Do you agree with Drake (The Making of the Great West, p. 72) that Champlain's Iroquois policy was "consummate folly"?

3. Fiske, New France and New England. Champlain's policy, 58–71. Summary of his work, 89–93. La Salle, 109–132. Fur traders and missionaries, 98–109.

4. The later French explorers. Thwaites, The Colonies, 246–249. Drake, Making of the Great West, 75–85. Fiske, Discovery of America, II, 528–540.

5. Parkman, Old Régime in Canada. Colbert and his system, 232–237. Talon's influence, 268–275.

6. Parkman, Frontenac. His character and policy, 17–18; 22–24; 389–396.

7. Nicolet. Parkman's La Salle, chaps. 23, 24. Thwaites, Story of Wisconsin, 19–35.

8. Marquette and Joliet. Parkman's La Salle, 48–78. Drake, Making of the Great West, 85–92. Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 42. Thwaites, Father Marquette—an interesting biography.

9. Parkman, The Jesuits (from a Protestant point of view), chaps. 3, 4, 16, 20. The success of the Jesuits, 317–320; 446–449. Parkman's La Salle, 28–38; 92–94.

10. Conditions and events preceding the French and Indian wars. Fiske, New France and New England, 258–283. Also, French colonial policy, 100–109.

11. Parkman, Old Régime. Canadian feudalism, 304–315. Colonial government, 326–329; 337–344; 348–351. Trade restrictions, 352–361; 366–379. Life in the colony, 434–460.

12. Royal measures fostering New France, Hart, Contemporaries, I, No. 41. The fur trade, 320–324; 327–330.

13. Make a comparison of the French and the English colonies under the following heads:—1. Situation of each, with reasons. 2. The people, numbers, motives, classes. 3. Industries. 4. Government. 5. Relations with the mother country. 6. Re-

tations with Indians. 7. Military strength. Read on this topic, Parkman's works, Old Régime, 461–468. Frontenac, 414–417. Half Century of Conflict, II, 63–77. Montcalm and Wolfe, I, 20–35. Also, Sloane, French War and Revolution, 22–27; 33–37. Greene, Provincial America, 114–118.

14. Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, I. The attack on New England towns, chaps. 3, 4. French policy, 262–267; 288–290.

15. The capture of Louisburg. Harper's Magazine, 108: 209–218 (map). Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, II, chaps. 18, 19, 20 (maps, frontispiece, and p. 113). Hart, Contemporaries, II, No. 120. Fiske, New France and New England, 249–257 (map).

16. Are the French to-day a successful colonizing nation?

17. Braddock's defeat. Sloane, French War and Revolution, 40–45. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I, chap. 7. Hart, Contemporaries, II, No. 127. Bancroft, II, 420–425. Fiske, New France and New England, 283–293.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Growth in population

BETWEEN the years 1690 and 1760 the English colonies grew in population from about 245,000 to 1,600,000. Here, as in all new countries, where conditions of life are easy, the natural increase was large; and there was much immigration. In New England, non-English immigrants were not welcomed, though there were some Huguenots in the cities and Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire. Families were large, and there was little migration out of New England. In the middle colonies, this period saw a great influx of non-English immigrants.

The German immigrants.

The circumstances under which the Huguenots and the Germans left Europe have been mentioned (pp. 82, 117). Added to these European conditions were the inducements presented by the New World: free land, free thought, and the certainty of better economic conditions for both the immigrant and his children. These attractions were advertised by Pennsylvania and by the agents of land companies. The English Government sent to America several thousand Germans who had fled to that country. The immigrants in America also advertised the attractions of this country most effectively in correspondence with their friends and relatives at home. While some of the Germans settled in New York and the Carolinas, the greatest number went to Pennsylvania, where they found more liberal conditions. Here they made homes on the frontier, and became a substantial and very conservative element of the population.

The Scotch-Irish immigrants constituted another important element in the colonies. The settlement of northeastern Ireland by Scotch and English peasants in the reigns of Elizabeth and James* accounts for this alien Protestant element in that country. They were mainly Presbyterians, and oppressive laws aimed at Catholics often bore hard upon them also. There was economic oppression besides—restraints put upon their industries and exorbitant rents exacted by landlords. Scotch-Irish immigration began early in the eighteenth century and continued during the entire period now under review.† Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas were the favorite destinations of these immigrants. They pushed to the western frontier, among the foot-hills of the Alleghanies and into the valleys that lie between the parallel mountain ranges. Often they moved northward or southward in these valleys, and they were among the first to cross the mountains into the fertile lands that lay invitingly beyond. The Scotch-Irish.

The Germans and the Scotch-Irish constituted the largest non-English element in the colonies. Smaller numbers of Swiss, Welsh, Highland Scotch, and Irish came to various colonies.

Great numbers of these immigrants came as servants under indenture contracts (see pp. 43–44); some were convicts and some were given free land by the English Government. In the colonies where they settled, though sometimes restricted from full political privileges, the non-English immigrants finally acquired naturalization. Thus the mingling of peoples of different stocks, which is one of the fundamental facts in American history, became marked in the first half of the eighteenth century. The mingling of peoples in America.

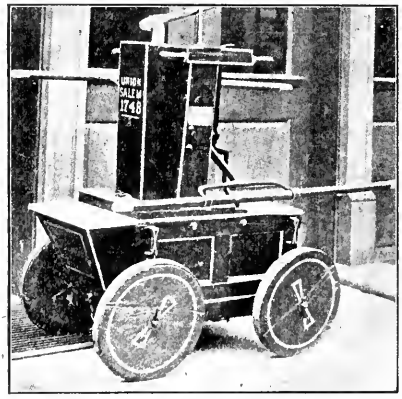
Industrially, this period was one of substantial growth. The beginnings of colonial industries have been traced (pp. 91–98). The agriculture of the Southern colonies

* See Gardiner's History of England, 452, 475, 484.

† One authority estimates the number at 12,000 yearly between 1729 and 1750.

Industrial growth and changes in the South.

became more systematic; larger crops were raised and more produce was exported. In the Carolinas rice was the principal product, and toward 1750 indigo became important. These were exported, together with naval stores and lumber. In Virginia and South Carolina the tendency toward the growth of large estates continued, while in North Carolina small farms were the rule. Virginia and Maryland continued to be the great tobacco-producing colonies. The non-English settlers on the borders of all the Southern colonies lived on small farms, which they worked themselves, and raised chiefly grains, cattle, and horses.



A Colonial Fire Engine

Growth of varied industries.

In the middle colonies industries became more varied. Here and in New England manufacturing grew to greater importance. Coarse woollens, chiefly worn by the colonists, were made in the homes; much linen was manufactured. Iron began to be an important article of manufacture in the middle colonies. Pottery, glassware, hats, rope, furniture, and shoes were made in crude forms and on a small scale. The finer materials and articles were still imported from Europe.

Commercial expansion.

In New England fishing and ship-building grew to great importance during the eighteenth century, and these industries in turn stimulated commerce. When a period of peace (1713–1744) ensued after the series of wars between England and France, the seas became safer and English capital was invested in colonial bottoms. At this time the

fast-sailing schooner was brought to perfection. A race of sturdy and skilful seamen was bred in the cod and mackerel fisheries of the Atlantic coast, while the venturesome quest for whales carried New Englanders from Arctic to Antarctic waters.

Exports and imports.

The forests of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania yielded timber for ships, which became an important article of export. From the middle colonies were shipped grains, meats, furs, and lumber; from New England, fish, horses, meats, clapboards, and staves. For the greater amount of these products England offered but a small market, since her industries yielded similar products. The countries of southern Europe and the West Indies were the chief markets for the exports mentioned. From Spain and France in return came wines, oil, silk goods, and products of the East—sugar, coffee, and drugs. Molasses and sugar were imported from the West Indies. From this molasses rum was manufactured in large quantities in New England.

The slave trade.

Besides being a common beverage and a staple article in the Indian trade, rum was exported. Traders who included it as a part of their cargoes generally touched at an English or a West Indian port on their way to Africa. There cloth and trinkets, together with the rum, sufficed to secure a cargo of slaves. Then began the horrible "middle passage" back to America in which often a large proportion of the wretched negroes died. Many were disposed of in West Indian ports, whence more sugar and molasses were taken. During colonial times no protest seems to have arisen against the inhumanity and wickedness of this traffic.

The balance of trade.

Manufactures were purchased in large quantities from England, thus throwing the balance of trade against the colonists. Since the balance with the West Indies was in their favor, much French and Spanish coin, of gold and silver, came thence in payment. This was in turn mainly shipped to England in settlement of the balance due there.

Paper money.

Little hard money remained in the colonies, and there were no precious metals produced from which to coin it. Hence arose

a demand for paper money, a demand to which all the colonial governments yielded, with unfortunate consequences. Its fluctuating value resulted in loss to many and benefited only speculators. Colonial governors were instructed by the home government to prohibit such issues.

Privateering.

During the European wars of these times privateering was allowed, and upon the cessation of a war the privateer often turned pirate. The laxity of moral ideas upon this subject allowed the pirates to conduct, more or less openly, a profitable trade in their stolen goods. The inlets of the Carolina coasts and of the West Indies furnished convenient shelters. Vigorous efforts, however, were made to suppress piracy.

THREE SHILLINGS
This Bill of Three Shillings due to
the Poſſeſſor thereof from the Province
of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY hath
the equal to Nine Penny Weight of coind
Silver Troy Weight of Sterling Alloy or Gold
Coin at y Rate of Four Pounds Eighteen Shill
P Ounce, and shall be accepted in all
Payments and in TREASURY. Boſton
January 15 1741 By Order
of GENERAL COURT
OR ASSEMBLY
1742

Three-shilling Massachusetts Bill of 1741

The broadening of life.

Besides being a source of great profit to the colonists, their foreign commerce brought them into touch with the peoples of other lands. This, and the mingling of the English with the foreign elements of colonial population, broadened their vision and compelled the enlargement of their ideas. Partly for this reason, the strictness and severity of life were somewhat relaxed in the eighteenth century. There was a greater degree of comfort among the common people and of luxury among the rich. As the struggle for existence became easier there was more time for refinement, as well as for indulgence. In religious matters, especially in New England, the church ceased to prescribe minute rules of conduct and the ministry lost its

preëminent influence. The professions of law and medicine became more respectable and had greater influence.

Religion and education.

A revival of religion, known as the "great awakening," that had a profound influence, began in New England, in 1734, and lasted ten years. In this movement, which affected all the colonies, Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield were the leaders. In educational matters, while the spread of common schools was slow, a number of colleges were founded: Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; King's (now Columbia University), 1754; the University of Pennsylvania, 1755; and Brown, 1764. Newspapers were permanently established, the Boston News Letter (1704) being the first.

Colonial governments.

In the constitution of their governments the colonies may be classified into three groups: royal, proprietary, and republican. This classification is based upon the three different methods by which their governors obtained office; *i. e.*, by royal commission, by appointment of the proprietor, and by popular election. In the first group there were, in 1690, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland (temporarily), and Virginia; in the second, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and the Carolinas. Of the latter group only the first two remained proprietary, the rest becoming royal, while Maryland was restored to the Baltimore family. Rhode Island and Connecticut alone retained their elective governors, and so may be classed as republican. With them, the colonial charters were the basis for the governor's authority; in the proprietary colonies, the royal charter specified the powers of the governor; while in the royal colonies the commission of the governor and the instructions issued by the home government from time to time outlined his powers.

Governor and council.

In the royal and proprietary colonies the governor was assisted and advised by a council, the members of which (except in Massachusetts) were appointed by the crown or by the proprietor, usually upon the governor's recommendation. The council was thus a part of the admin-

istrative branch of government; it had also judicial functions, in certain cases, sitting as a court of appeals; finally, it participated in legislative work, being (in every colony except Pennsylvania) the upper house of the colonial legislature. It was natural that the members of the council should have been, generally speaking, in sympathy with the governor. With him they represented the external authority of government; they were favorable to the policy of control of which we have seen the beginnings (p. 89), and which was destined to develop in the eighteenth century.

Popular assemblies.

The popular element in the colonial governments, representing the spirit of self-government, and often opposing the policy of control, was found in the representative assemblies which were elected in the various colonies. The origin of these assemblies has been traced, and the struggles by which they acquired legislative powers, that of taxation, especially, have been noted. In the enactment of laws the assemblies were not absolute; for the council (except in Pennsylvania) must also vote its consent, and the royal and proprietary governors had the power of approving or vetoing bills. Finally, the crown exercised the right of veto over laws which were disapproved by its advisers.

Control by the British Government.

The policy of external control found vigorous expression in the early years of the reign of William and Mary (1689–1702). Colonial governors urged upon the home government a firmer and more uniform system of colonial government, with a view especially to the enforcement of the navigation laws and to better measures of military action against the French. In 1696, a new body, known as the "Board of Trade," consisting of members of the Privy Council and other men interested in the commercial relations of England, was established as the central administrative body in colonial affairs. Its powers were advisory, but it exercised considerable influence over the legislation of Parliament and over the royal instructions issued to colonial governors. An effort was made to bring the

The Board of Trade.

governors to a greater sense of responsibility in the enforcement of laws by the requirement of a new and stricter oath of office. For the better enforcement of the navigation laws, courts of admiralty were set up in the colonies. These courts acting without juries and being thus beyond the influence of local sympathies, aroused the enmity of the colonists.

New navigation acts.

New laws of trade were enacted by Parliament: (1) Colonial trade in wool and woollen goods was prohibited, and consequently extensive woollen manufacture was impossible. This was a measure protective of British manufactures, and later similar protection was extended to hats (1732) and to all iron manufactures (1750) beyond the stage of pig and bar iron. (2) Parliament extended the list of enumerated articles (see p. 85), that could be shipped to England only, by the inclusion of rice, naval stores, and ship timber. As an offset to the last provision a bounty was granted on naval stores exported to England, which was intended to encourage their production. (3) The molasses act of 1733 was intended to foster the production of sugar in the British West Indies; it imposed duties so high as to be prohibitive upon all sugar and molasses imported from the French and the Spanish islands. Since the latter were the main source of supply for these products, and since an important branch of colonial trade was based upon them (p. 131), the observance of this act would have been a serious burden. It was practically a dead letter.

Recommendations for imperial control

On the side of administrative control, the history of this period shows great activity on the part of the Board of Trade in their investigation of colonial conditions and their recommendations for bringing the colonial governments into closer conformity with the home government. Had they been better supported by the ministry, imperial control would have been much more thorough, and colonial liberties would have suffered accordingly. One line of action recommended by the Board was the extinction of the proprietary grants and of the Rhode Island and Con-

necticut charters. This policy, however, was not vigorously pursued. The Jerseys became royal in 1702, and later the Carolinas (1729). Georgia, originally proprietary, was made royal (1754). But in all these cases popular discontent with the proprietary government was an active cause in the change.

Conflicts between governors and assemblies.

The central point of conflict in the opposing governmental tendencies of this period is found in the disputes that arose between colonial governors and assemblies. These authorities engaged in controversies that may be grouped into three classes: (1) The assemblies endeavored to control the making of representative districts; to secure the right of dissolving their own sessions independently of the governor's will; to provide for frequent elections; to free themselves from the governor's influence in the election of their speakers; and to judge of the validity of election of their own members.

Free representation.

Officers and salaries.

(2) Many bitter controversies arose over the appointment of colonial officers, especially treasurers; also, over the question of salaries, that of the governor in particular. The governors followed instructions from the home government in their efforts to secure *permanent salaries;* the assemblies, on the other hand, insisted upon *annual grants of salaries.* The former policy would render the governor more independent of the assembly in his action; the latter would give the assembly a very effective means of controlling the governor, through their refusal to grant a salary until he conformed to some popular demand. The controversy over this matter raged in New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania, but it was quite uniformly settled in favor of the assemblies, so that it was said that every governor had two masters: "one who gives him his commission, and one who gives him his pay."

(3) In their efforts to exercise control over public money, the colonists proved to be worthy descendants of their English ancestors. The assemblies claimed the same rights in this respect as the House of Commons, even in

A CATECHISE, &c.

QUESTION.

WHAT is the chief end of a modern provincial Governor ?

ANSWER. A *modern provincial Governor*'s chief end is, to serve *the minister*, that he may be found *worthy* to enjoy a *pension*, or be advanced to a better *place* through his favour.

Q. *What rule has* the minister *given to direct* modern provincial Governors, *how they may* serve *him and enjoy their* pension ?

A. *Ministerial instructions*, which are contained in *messages*, *mandate* and *commands*, and which a *modern provincial Governor* is bound *absolutely to obey*, are the *only* rules to direct him how he may serve *the minister* and enjoy his *pension*.

Q. *What are* the doctrines *taught* a modern provincial Governor ?

A. The *doctrines* taught a *modern provincial Governor*, are *implicit faith*, in what the *minister* orders, *and implicit obedience* to whatever he shall require.

Q. *What* is a minister ?

A. A *minister* is a creature originally found in *Turkey*, but lately found in *England*, infallible, absolute, uncontroulable : Of wisdom, which none dare call in question : Of power which none can resist : Of holiness such as suits his station : Of justice, goodness and truth, parallel to self-interest.

Q. *Are there more* ministers *than one ?*

A. They have appeared in the different forms of Grand Vizier, Viceroy, Cardinals, &c. yet in *sentiment* and *inclination* they are all one.

Q. *What are the* decrees *of a* minister ?

A. The *decrees* of a *minister* are certain *orders*, vulgarly called *instructions*, issued forth *according to the council of his own will*, whereby for his own *pleasure*, *profit* or *resentment*, he hath before ordained what he shall come to pass.

Q. *How doth* the minister *execute his decrees ?*

A. In the works of *creation* and *providence*.

Public money and taxation.

direct contradiction to royal instructions sent to governors. They resisted the efforts of councils to share in the passage of taxation bills; they insisted that appropriations should be made for specific purposes, instead of granting lump sums to be disbursed at the governor's discretion. All efforts of the governors to collect fees or payments as substitutes for taxation were resisted.

The tendency toward self-government.

In these contests between external authority, as embodied in the governors, and popular will, as represented in the assemblies, the popular side was on the whole successful. So that the most striking feature of colonial government during this period is not the extension of imperial control, but the firm assertion of colonial rights. The colonists were encouraged in this assertion by a growing feeling of economic independence, as industries became more stable; by a growing feeling of common interests, as intercommunication became easier and the wars with the French compelled them to act in unison; and by a growing contempt for the authority of the home government, as they continued successfully to evade the navigation laws and as they won victories in their contests with the colonial governors.

The compromise between imperial control and self-government.

The issue between imperial control and local self-government was not decided in this period. While there came about no formal understanding upon the subject, there was yet a practical compromise, which, while it left some irritation in the minds of the colonists, was yet generally satisfactory, both to them and to the home government. Had this condition been suffered to continue, colonial loyalty to the mother country would not have been shaken. It remained for the British Government to undermine the foundations of colonial allegiance by the adoption of "a new policy," to be discussed in a later chapter.

GEORGIA

It was almost precisely fifty years after the founding of Pennsylvania that the last of the thirteen English colonies

of the Atlantic coast was established. The Carolinas occupied territory that was claimed by Spain, and the desirability of preventing Spanish aggression led to the placing of forts in the region that is now Georgia. These were, however, but temporary. Here also there was competition for Indian trade between the English colonists and the French traders of the Gulf coast. The English Government, therefore, gladly granted the country between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers to a company of twenty or more prominent gentlemen who proposed founding a colony that would serve as an outpost guaranteeing English possession and trade. A leading motive in the undertaking, and the one upon which it was initiated, was philanthropic. James Oglethorpe was an officer in the English army, a member of Parliament, and a man of much ability and of good reputation. Having served upon a Parliamentary committee investigating English prisons, he was moved to undertake the relief of worthy debtors then in confinement by aiding them to remove to America. Under its charter, the company, known as "The Trustees," could make no profit from the enterprise, but collected funds by private subscription and was aided by Parliamentary grants. Settlers were provided with arms, and with tools and food sufficient to start them in their new life. Roman Catholics were excluded from the colony.

Reasons for the colony.

Savannah was founded under Oglethorpe's personal supervision in 1733. Other poor and worthy persons besides imprisoned debtors were brought to the colony, and many Germans and Scotch Highlanders also received assistance. The latter were settled on the southern border of the colony as a defensive force.* Each family was given fifty acres of land.

The Trustees, endeavoring to establish a model community, forbade (1) the sale of intoxicating liquors; (2) the

Policy of settlement.

* "Georgia, more nearly than any of the North American provinces, approximates the Roman conception of a military colony planted for the defence of the empire." Greene, Provincial America, 260.

use of slaves, and (3) the alienation of land, except to male heirs. Within a few years complaints arose against these restrictions. They served to keep away other colonists, and, silk and grape production having proved unprofitable, slaves seemed necessary, especially in the rice fields. The Trustees finally agreed to abolish the restrictions, and the colony then grew more rapidly. In 1760, the population (10,000) was becoming typically Southern in economic and social life.

A royal province.

Once Oglethorpe led a military force against the Spanish in Florida, and later the Spanish unsuccessfully attacked the colony. In 1754 the Trustees surrendered the colony to the crown. Then there was established the typical colonial government, with royal governor, council, and elected assembly.

References

1. Life in Virginia. Fiske, Old Virginia, II, 28–44, 205–241. Hart, Contemporaries, I, 301–306; 235–238. Thwaites, The Colonies, chap. 5.

2. New England Life. Lodge, English Colonies, 441–456. Thwaites, chap. 8. Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old New England.

3. Make a comparison of the New England colonies with Virginia on the following points: (1) Motives of settlers. (2) Methods of settlement. (3) Industries. (4) Government. (5) Influence of religion. (6) Relations with Indians. In this connection, review chapter 7.

4. Dutch life in New York. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II, 264–288. Thwaites, chap. 10. Lodge, 312–339. Hart, Contemporaries, II, 576–579. Earle, Colonial Days in Old New York.

5. Quaker life. Hart, Contemporaries, II, 65–68. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II, 320–329. Lodge, 237–262.

6. Colonial commerce. Thwaites, 103–106; 185–186; 226. Lodge, 409–411. Coman, Industrial History of United States, 72-79. Greene, Provincial America, 283–291.

7. The navigation laws. Fiske, Old Virginia, II, 45-53; 111–

113. Thwaites, see Index. Coman, Industrial History of United States, 79–83. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 34–46.

8. Colonial industries, Bogart, 49–60. Colonial farm implements, 66, 68, 73. Greene, Provincial America, 270–282.

9. Colonial governments. Fisher, Colonial Era, 60; 165–167; 208–211. Thwaites, 53–63. Channing, The United States, 26–29; 33–38. Hart, Formation of the Union, 5–17. Wilson, The State, 449–469.

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11. Historical fiction. Cooke, The Virginian Comedians. Hawthorne, Twice-told Tales. Johnston, Audrey.

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CHAPTER X

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The mercantile system.

THE navigation laws have been noticed (pp. 85, 86, 135) as an ever-present source of irritation between England and her colonies. These laws were based upon an economic theory known as the "mercantile system." * This included the idea that *colonies exist for the benefit of the parent state;* they were, indeed, to be protected and fostered by parental care, but in a conflict of economic interests the colonies were to be subordinate. For the benefit of English merchants and ship owners, trade must be controlled by restrictive acts instead of being allowed to take its natural course.

The laws regulating colonial manufactures illustrate another idea of the mercantile system; viz., that the manufacturing processes are of greatest value in a country's industry, and consequently these must be confined to the mother country; while her colonies should furnish raw materials and should purchase the manufactured products. From the standpoint of the colonists, on the other hand, competition with the merchants and manufacturers of England and free trade with other countries was their best economic policy, and hence, they reasoned, it was their natural right.

Beneficial features.

Some features of the navigation laws fostered colonial industries. New England shipping received an impetus through the exclusion of foreign vessels from England's commerce. Bounties were paid in England upon the importation of indigo, naval stores, and timber from the colonies. Again, the sugar act of

* Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations (1776) overthrew this theory, and laid the foundations for modern economic thought.

1733 was purposely left a dead letter, and much of the most profitable export trade was under no restriction whatever. In judging the navigation acts we should remember that the same principles ruled in all European governments of that time. A comparison of the Spanish (p. 24) and French (p. 118) restrictive systems with English policy will readily show how much more liberal was the last.

The execution of the navigation laws.

The suppression of colonial manufactures (beyond the purely home stage) was in the main successful; but in only limited sections of the colonies was there any economic profit in extensive manufactures. Consequently, little disadvantage was suffered from this restriction. Concerning trade, the opposite was true. All the colonies depended upon European manufactures, and semi-tropical products; and these could be paid for only by colonial exports. Hence the economic necessity of the situation made the violation of the navigation acts profitable. Large quantities of imports were smuggled; exactly how much is not known. The cost of the English revenue system in the colonies was four times the amount collected.

There was regular illicit trade with the West Indies, Mediterranean ports, and Holland. The desire for profit was stronger than law or commercial honor; and when it appeared that the English Government was too careless, or too inefficient, to enforce the laws it was no longer considered culpable to violate them. The connivance of English officers made smuggling easier. The landing of goods in obscure ports and the false declarations as to the destination of vessels and their cargoes are samples of the shrewd tricks that circumvented the laws.

The dispute over writs of assistance.

During the last French and Indian war there were instances of the seizure of smuggled goods by virtue of "writs of assistance"—a kind of search warrant. In 1761, application was made by Charles Paxton, surveyor of the port of Boston, to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for authority to use these writs. The right of the court to grant the authority was challenged by certain Boston merchants, on the ground that they were *general* rather than *special* warrants. They were directed to any officer into whose possession they might fall; they authorized of-

ficers to enter and search any place and to seize any goods, merely upon suspicion, instead of particularly describing the places to be searched and the goods to be seized.* The court declared the writs to be legal, and they were subsequently used in the discovery of smuggled goods.

Otis's speech.

The case was argued for the merchants by James Otis, who showed that their issuance would be a violation of the "spirit of the British Constitution," and a reversal of the long historical movement toward individual liberty that occupies such a prominent place in English history. He also declared with much fire and eloquence that the enforcement of the navigation laws meant the subjection of the colonists to obnoxious laws that they had no share in making. His speech had great influence upon the people; for it first clearly defined the issue of Parliamentary supremacy in the colonies.

The "New Policy."

The head of the British ministry was now (1763) George Grenville, an able man, but lacking in breadth of view, tact, and statesman-like qualities. He determined that the inconsistencies in colonial relations and the inefficiency of the Government's control should cease. The three points of his "new policy" were:

(1) The enforcement of the navigation laws.
(2) The placing of a standing army in the colonies.
(3) The partial support of this army by a colonial tax.

This policy seemed to be justified by new conditions that followed the Seven Years' War. England's debt (£140,000,000) demanded the severest economy of resources. The danger from the French in America was not over. The years 1763–1764 saw Pontiac's rebellion, when the frontier of the middle colonies was swept by war. At the same time Indian attacks threatened the frontiers of Georgia and the Carolinas. For efficient protection a standing army seemed necessary, and in Grenville's judgment the expense should be shared by the colonists.

The sugar act, 1764.

The sugar act of 1764 announced as one of its objects the raising of a revenue in the colonies. The terms of the molasses act of 1733 (see p. 135) were altered so that if the duties were enforced they would yield considerable

* Compare Amendment IV of the United States Constitution and a corresponding clause of your State Constitution.

revenue. High duties were levied on other imports. The enforcement of the sugar act, said the New Englanders, would seriously injure, if not absolutely ruin, the West Indian trade and also the fishing industry that depended upon it. There now came a storm of protests from colonial assemblies and their agents in England.

The Stamp Act 1765.

Such was the ominous situation into which Grenville now introduced a most powerful stimulant of discontent—the proposition for a stamp tax to be levied in America.

Calling together the colonial agents in London (1764), Grenville announced his purpose of raising one-third of the expense necessary for maintaining 10,000 troops in the colonies. As the agents could propose no satisfactory alternative, in the absence of a central authority in America, Grenville asserted that Parliament must assume the responsibility and enact the least burdensome tax possible. The law (1765) required the use of stamps (or stamped paper) upon legal instruments (such as bonds, leases, etc.), and upon newspapers, bills of lading, playing cards, and almanacs. No part of the money was to be employed otherwise than in defraying the expense of the army in America.

Colonial opposition.

The smouldering fires of discontent in America now burst into flame. Everywhere there were public meetings and demonstrations of disapproval. In the Virginia House of Burgesses Patrick Henry spoke out colonial sentiments in a burst of oratory. Resolutions drawn up by Henry were adopted, boldly claiming the sole right of taxation to reside in the colonial assemblies. These resolutions had great influence in other colonies. Everywhere in the colonies there were organized patriotic clubs called "Sons of Liberty," * and among these a lively correspondence ensued. Meanwhile, citizens entered into agreements not to buy English manufactures, and colonial merchants threatened to pay no debts owed in England until the act was repealed. Riots occurred in

* For the origin of the name, see Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 175–183. Larned, History for Ready Reference, United States, 1765. Bancroft, III, 110–112.

several colonies.* Stamp collectors were publicly abused, stamps were destroyed, and the people utterly refused to use them.

The Stamp Act Congress, 1765.

Meanwhile, upon the suggestion of the Massachusetts assembly, a general congress of the colonies met in New York on October 7, 1765. Delegates were present from

Benjamin Franklin
From a medallion by Jean Martin Renaud

nine colonies; among them were James Otis, Christopher Gadsden (South Carolina), John Dickinson (Pennsyl-

* The most notable riot resulted in the destruction of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson's house in Boston. This gentleman, whose real character and motives have until recent years been misunderstood, was opposed to the Parliamentary policy, but saw no alternative to its enforcement. He incurred the bitterest enmity of the popular leaders, among whom were James Otis and Samuel Adams.

vania), and Philip Livingston (New York). Though not unanimous in opinion, the Congress agreed upon a Declaration of Rights, and Addresses to the King and both Houses of Parliament. Their Declaration breathes at once the spirit of loyalty to the King and Parliament and firm adherence to the principle, "no taxation without representation." Their rights were declared to be those of natural-born citizens of Great Britain. The importance of this Congress in forming public opinion and fostering the spirit of united action among the thirteen colonies cannot be overestimated.

The repeal of the Stamp Act.

Upon the grounds of expediency the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766. The following reasons account for this: (1) There had been a change of ministry; the Whigs, under Rockingham, were disposed toward a more lenient colonial policy and were anxious to obtain the favor of the mercantile classes. (2) In his testimony before the House of Commons, Benjamin Franklin pointed out the fact that by persisting in their opposition the colonies could ruin British trade and build up manufactures for themselves. (3) English merchants and manufacturers, already feeling the evil effects of colonial anger, deluged Parliament with petitions for the repeal.

The colonial denial of Parliament's right to levy this tax was explained by Franklin, who drew the distinction between *external* and *internal* taxes. He said: "The authority of Parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce."

The theory of virtual representation.

Some members of Parliament rested the right of colonial taxation upon the theory of "virtual representation," thus stated in the words of Lord Mansfield: "A member of Parliament, chosen from any borough, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place, but . . . all the other commons of this land, and the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain." This can be understood only in the light of conditions then existing in England under the "rotten borough" system.* The theory was not accepted by Burke or by Pitt

* Gardiner, History of England, 713 714.

The idea was certainly incomprehensible to Americans, among whom a very different system of representation had grown up.

The Declaratory Act, 1766.

A "Declaratory Act" accompanied the repeal of the Stamp Act. It proclaimed the right of Parliament to make all laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. This act was overlooked in the midst of the general rejoicing that followed the repeal.

The Townshend acts, 1767.

The colonists now desired nothing better than the restoration of the former relations with the British Government. But the latter adopted the disastrous policy that led to American independence. A new ministry was formed (July, 1766), with William Pitt, now Lord Chatham, at its head. But a prolonged illness made Chatham's leadership only nominal. The colonial policy was dictated instead by Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "a brilliant statesman, but unscrupulous and unwise." (1) Townshend proposed to raise a revenue by duties upon paper, tea,* glass, lead, and painters' colors imported into the colonies. Since the purpose of the new duties was the raising of revenue, instead of the control of commerce, the colonists regarded them as "internal taxes," and so beyond the power of Parliament. (2) The enforcement of revenue laws was rendered difficult by the fact that judges and crown attorneys were paid by colonial legislatures and were consequently under their influence. Townshend proposed that these officers should be paid from the customs receipts. (3) It was very difficult to find a colonial jury that would convict smugglers for violation of the trade laws. For the trial of such cases Townshend proposed to establish courts of admiralty, in which there were no juries. (4) A Board of Commissioners was created, to be resident in the colonies, who were to secure more efficient administration of the navigation and rev-

* This duty was 3d. a pound. Under this law, when tea was imported into England, paying there a duty of about 25 per cent., and was subsequently exported to America, the duty was paid back to the exporter; and in this way it was expected that tea could be sold more cheaply in America than in England. Am. Hist. Review, III, 266.

enue laws. Such were the Townshend acts passed by Parliament in 1767.

The colonial response to these acts was prompt and decisive. (1) The non-importation agreements that followed the Stamp Act were renewed and with them were non-consumption agreements. (2) Colonial protests were voiced by the writings of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who, in his "Farmers Letters," stated the colonial position so cogently that public opinion was united in opposition. (3) A similar service was performed by Samuel Adams, from whose pen came a series of petitions directed to the King and other English officials, and a circular letter adopted by the general court of Massachusetts and directed to the other colonial assemblies. The British ministry regarded this circular letter as an insult, and ordered the general court to rescind it; but the proposal to rescind was resolutely voted down. As punishment for the adoption of certain resolutions (1769), the governor of Virginia dissolved the House of Burgesses. But its members met the following day and adopted a non-importation plan.

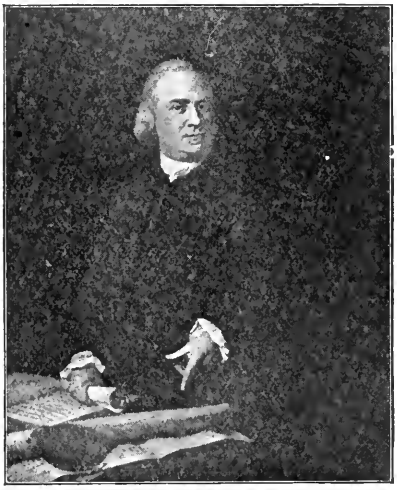
Measures of resistance in the colonies.

John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania
From a painting by C. W. Peale, 1791

The year 1768 saw the landing of two regiments of British troops in Boston; there followed considerable friction over the question of providing them with quarters. It is not strange that a settled state of animosity existed

British troops in Boston.

between citizens and soldiers and that the outcome should be a clash between the latter and the disorderly element of the city. The "Boston massacre" (March, 1770), resulting in the death of five persons and the wounding of six, greatly inflamed popular passions. The more conservative element, deprecating the use of violence, approved the position of John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., who acted as lawyers for the soldiers in the trial that ensued. Through the influence of Samuel Adams, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was obliged to remove the troops to Castle William in the harbor.



Samuel Adams
From a portrait by John Singleton Copley, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Samuel Adams, the most influential leader in Massachusetts, displayed great skill as an agitator and a moulder of public opinion. He showed also remarkable ability as a writer, in stating the fundamental doctrines of colonial resistance. John Adams, his relative, was a young lawyer of brilliant qualities, but more conservative and better balanced than Samuel. His influence was destined to grow.

The King's policy

Lord North was now Prime Minister, and this meant the complete dominance of George III. The motion was made in the House of Commons (1770) to repeal all the duties of the Townshend acts except that on tea. The vote on this policy was carried by the "King's friends" against the protests of Chatham and Grenville, who plainly saw its folly.

Lord North was "an easy-going, obstinate man, with a quick wit and a sweet temper." George III was but twenty-two years of age when he came to the throne in 1760. He had persistently followed a course that was in accordance with his early training and the emphatic injunction of his mother, "George, be king!" To secure a dominant influence over Parliament he used the corrupt means that had flourished under the Old Whig supremacy. He then entered upon a bitter contest with the colonies and with the friends of liberal government in England. For the latter, too, the principle of adequate representation was at stake. George III

George III and his ministers now issued "royal instructions" to colonial governors ordering acts that were often in violation of both colonial customs and charters. In Massachusetts and South Carolina, the assemblies were removed from the capitals to other places. In several colonies assemblies were ordered dissolved; royal officials in Maryland and North Carolina demanded fees that were virtually taxes; in other instances local governments were interfered with by these instructions. The efforts of Virginia to check the importation of slaves were negatived. In these ways, the King was arbitrarily legislating for the colonies. Government of the colonies by royal instructions.

When the sessions of the Massachusetts general court were interfered with, the Boston town meeting passed a resolution, conceived by Samuel Adams, resulting in the establishment of "committees of correspondence" in each of eighty or more towns (1772). Thus was promoted unity of thought and feeling. In Virginia, a motion was carried in the House of Burgesses that a committee of correspondence be appointed to communicate with similar committees in other colonies. Origin of the committees of correspondence.

After the repeal of the duties (except that on tea), in 1770, there was a revival of trade between England and the colonies; but the colonists still smuggled tea and refused to patronize the British East India Company. In 1773 the King determined to bring about the payment of duties on tea, and thus to secure a practical recognition of the Parliamentary right to tax. The British East India The tea controversy.

Company was allowed to send several cargoes to the colonies under such conditions that the purchasers would pay still lower prices than before. The colonists refused to be caught in this trap; to them the duty was nothing, the principle everything. In New York and Philadelphia the cargoes were sent back; at Charleston, the agents were forced to resign. At Boston, where the consignees stood ready to receive the tea, the people would not permit its landing. When the officers were about to force its landing it was suddenly dumped into the harbor (December, 1773).

The Retaliatory or Coercive acts, 1774.

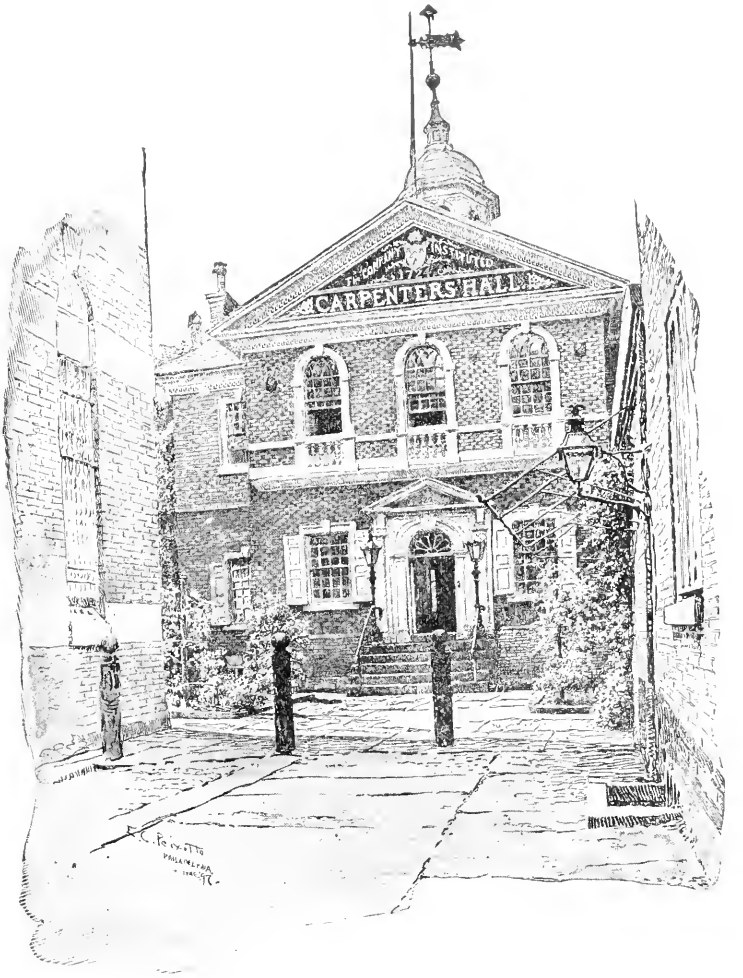
This incident aroused the extreme resentment of the British ministry, and under the King's direction Parliament passed a series of acts in retaliation (1774). (1) The Boston port bill ordered the cessation of all commerce at that port until the tea (valued at £18,000) should be paid for. (2) Another act revised the charter of Massachusetts, making members of the council appointees of the crown. The powers of the governor were greatly extended; he was to appoint and remove judges and sheriffs, the latter having the selection of juries. (3) Government officers charged with murder committed in the performance of their duties might be taken out of the colonies for trial. (4) The quartering act gave complete authority to royal officers for the hiring of vacant buildings as quarters for the soldiers.

The Quebec Act.

The Quebec act was classed by the colonists with the four just mentioned; but it was not passed in the same spirit of retaliation. It extended the boundary of Quebec to include the territory between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, and established the government for that province, providing full toleration of the Roman Catholic religion.

Sympathy for Boston, suffering under the port bill, stimulated the spirit of union.* From the Massachusetts

* South Carolina and Maryland sent to Boston corn and rice. Salem and Marblehead offered free the use of their wharves and warehouses. George Washington subscribed £50, and Israel Putnam drove a flock of sheep from Connecticut to Boston. Resolutions of sympathy in the Virginia house of burgesses led to its dissolution.



Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia
Where the First Continental Congress met

Assembly there came the proposal for a Congress to be held at Philadelphia, September 1, 1774.

The First Continental Congress, 1774.

The First Continental Congress was the logical result of many preparatory steps in the direction of union. Fifty-five delegates represented all the colonies but Georgia. Its acts may be summarized as follows: (1) It passed resolutions of sympathy and encouragement for Boston and Massachusetts. (2) A petition to the King asked removal of grievances, but claimed loyalty to England. (3) Addresses were issued to the people of England and Canada. (4) A remarkable paper, known as the "Declaration and Resolves" stated fully the grievances of the colonists and their principles of government. (5) An "Association" was adopted, binding the colonists not to import or consume British goods after December, 1774, and not to export goods to England or her colonies after September, 1775. As the enforcement of previous similar agreements had proved to be difficult, Congress advised the appointment of committees in every locality who should recommend that the colonists should have no dealings with persons who would not observe this policy. Such committees were quite generally organized. These, together with the committees of correspondence and committees of safety, assumed governmental authority and constituted, in reality, revolutionary governments.

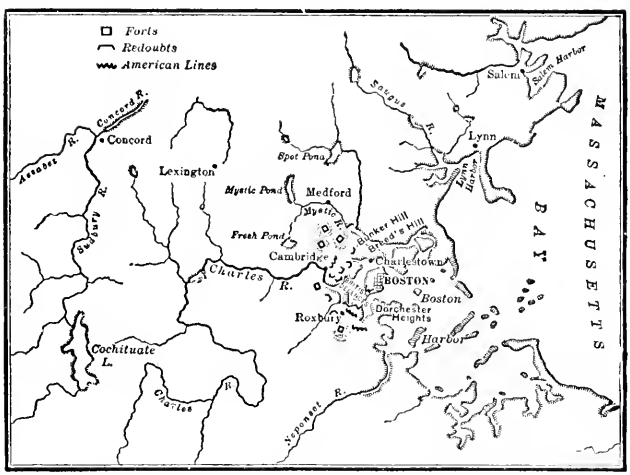
Conciliation proposed.

Several propositions were introduced into Parliament looking toward reconciliation with the colonies. Chatham would have retained the Continental Congress as a permanent body. Burke, in a speech that ranks foremost among the great argumentative orations of history, pleaded for the repeal of the oppressive acts.

Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775.

In Massachusetts the militia was completely organized, "minute-men" were ready for instant mobilization, and stores of war materials had been collected. General Gage's effort to capture such stores at Lexington and Concord led to the memorable fight of the 19th of April, 1775 Its outcome, the complete discomfiture of the British regu-

lars, gave courage to the patriots and brought to the vicinity of Boston 15,000 troops from the New England colonies. Then began the siege of Boston, which lasted nearly a year.



The Vicinity of Boston During the Siege, 1775–1776

The Second Continental Congress, 1775–1781.

Meanwhile, the Continental Congress met again, May 10, 1775.* The necessity for military action being recognized, the army around Boston was adopted as the Continental Army, and it was voted to raise companies of expert riflemen in other colonies. On June 15, Colonel George Washington was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. Congress then voted to issue $2,000,000 in paper money.

On June 17, 1775, was fought the Battle of Bunker Hill. The intention of the Continental troops in fortifying Charlestown peninsula was to anticipate such a movement on the part

* In the early hours of the same day, Ethan Allen, commanding a few soldiers from New England, surprised the British garrison at Fort Ticonderoga and compelled its surrender. A few days later Crown Point was taken.

The Battle of Bunker Hill.

of the British and to command a portion of Boston harbor with their guns. The blunder of the Americans in fortifying Breed's instead of Bunker's hill was offset by the greater blunder of the British in making a front attack, instead of capturing the neck of the peninsula, where they might have cut off the Americans and compelled their surrender. The defeat, at first depressing, later gave confidence to the patriots, since the British lost heavily in men and officers and gained no ground.

War to secure the "rights of Englishmen."

In July, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, under pressure of its conservative members, adopted another petition to George III, and promulgated a statement of causes for taking up arms. The latter declared: "We mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. . . . We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states." However much the radical leaders may have desired independence, their followers were comparatively few. Franklin, Jay, Washington, and Madison all testify that in the summer of 1775 there was no general desire among the people for independence.

The growth of independence sentiment.

But this situation was changed by the contemptuous attitude of King George in his refusal to receive either the petition of Congress or the messenger who carried it. Instead, the King issued a Proclamation declaring his American subjects to be rebels and threatening their punishment. Worse yet was his policy of hiring troops in Germany. During the months that followed these events, the radical patriots had little difficulty in convincing a majority of the people that reconciliation was impossible and that independence was the logical outcome of the conflict.

The vacuation f Boston.

In the army besieging Boston, the lack of discipline and of supplies was the despair of the commander. Finally, Washington made a bold move in ordering the fortification of Dorchester Heights, commanding Boston harbor. The British hesitated to attack, and soon loaded the troops and 1,000 Tories aboard vessels and sailed away to Halifax (March, 1776).

A daring invasion of Canada was made during the winter of 1775–1776 by armies under Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold. It failed, through mismanagement; the French people of Canada were alienated by ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial troops, and the province remained loyal.

Movement towards independence.

In various colonies royal governors were driven out and provincial congresses assumed governmental control. This was especially true in New England and the South, but in the middle colonies the Tory party was at least equal to the patriot faction. Congress took decisive action on May 10, 1776, in advising that each colony should adopt its own permanent republican government. This was the prelude to the motion of Richard Henry Lee made in Congress, June 7, that "these United Colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The motion was seconded by John Adams.

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia
Painting by C. W. Peale, 1791

The Declaration of Independence.

On June 8th and 10th Lee's motion was debated, but further debate was postponed until the members could better learn the opinions of their constituents. June 11th a committee was chosen to draught a Declaration of Independence; its members were Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert Livingston. The Declaration was reported in Congress June 28th. On July 1st the great debate began; the leaders were John Adams for independence and John Dickinson against. Lee's motion was carried July 2d, and the Declaration was adopted July 4th. On August 2d, members of Congress signed the Declaration.

In the Declaration we have an abstract statement of human rights, derived by its author, Thomas Jefferson, from the great English philosophers, Hobbes and Locke. The list of grievances that follows is directed solely against the King; the authority of Parliament is ignored, except in the statement that the King "has combined with others," etc. The attitude of the Americans during the controversy is stated in the final paragraphs.

Organization of State governments.

Following the advice of Congress several State governments were at once organized, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Virginia taking the necessary steps before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Virginia framed a permanent constitution. During the war all of the States established new governments, Connecticut and Rhode Island using their colonial charters as constitutions.

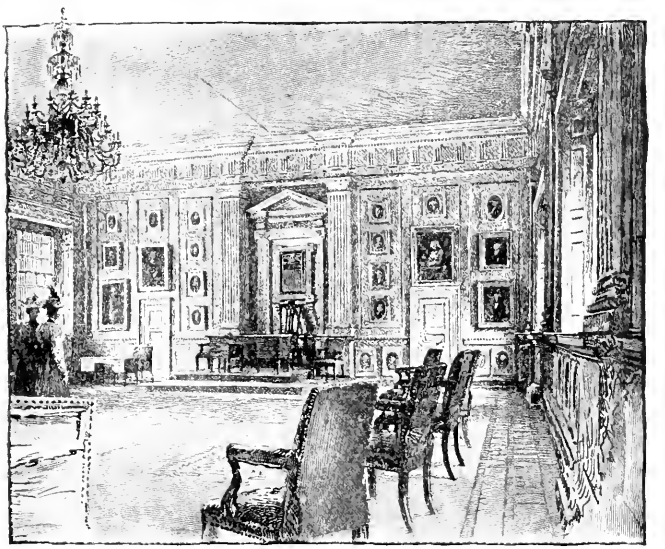
The Tories.

About one-third of the entire population of the colonies were Tories, or Loyalists. In the middle colonies and North Carolina they were equal in number with the patriots; in South Carolina and Georgia they were in the majority. They were chiefly (1) the office holders and those who hoped for official appointments; (2) the clergy of the Church of England; (3) the large land owners and the substantial business men, especially those engaged in commerce; and (4) the professional classes. "They were the prosperous and contented men, the men without a grievance." The Tories argued that the English theory of representation (p. 147) was valid, and that Parliament would not enact laws that were really oppressive if the colonies would admit the principle of the Declaratory Act of 1766. Wherever Tories and patriots were nearly equal, between them there was virtually civil war. Where the Tories were in the minority they suffered severely. Their houses were searched, their property destroyed or confiscated, and they were sometimes imprisoned. Probably 100,000 were banished or died for their cause —a cause which, it has been said, was "in argument not a weak one, in sentiment not a base one, and in devotion and self-sacrifice not an unheroic one."*

* Moses Coit Tyler, in Am. Hist. Review, I, 26. See also his Literary History of the American Revolution.

What were the causes that led the Americans to declare their independence? (1) The inherent tendencies of the people were in the direction of self-government, partly on account of their environment, which gave free play to in-

Fundamental causes of secession from England.



Room in Independence Hall in which the Declaration was Signed

dividual initiative, and partly because they were the descendants of the radicals and dissenters who constituted a large part of the emigrants from Europe. (2) This tendency had been fostered by a century and more of practical freedom from outward control. (3) The proposed policy of imperial control conflicted with their political ideals and their economic interests. The appointment of bishops of the Church of England in the colonies had also been considered by the home government. The majority of the colonists were not adherents of this church and regarded this step with apprehension. (4) The policy of the British Government during the controversy had

been weak and vacillating. (5) George III had dominated the government in its American policy; he had stubbornly adhered to an impractical course, first from love of ruling and then from mere vanity. His will was the chief stumbling block in the way of reconciliation. (6) Back of all the external grievances of the colonists was the growing consciousness that the Americans constituted a distinct social body with common interests; these could be preserved intact, not by conservative yielding, but by further advancement into the fuller liberty of economic and political independence.

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1. General accounts.* Higginson, Larger History, chap. 9. Lodge, English Colonies, chap. 23. Goldwin Smith, The United States, 60–89. Hart, Formation of the Union, 43–68. Sloane, French War and Revolution, 116–178.

2. The Navigation Laws. Coman, Industrial History of United States, 76–83; 87–92. Hart, Formation, etc., 44–50. Channing, The United States, 31–33; 41–44. Lecky, The American Revolution, 41–48; 52–56. Sloane, French War, etc., 118–120; 124–125. Howard, Preliminaries of the Revolution, 47–67.

3. The Writs of Assistance. Samuel Adams, Am. St. Series, 39–45 (new ed. 130–145). Hart, Contemporaries, II, No. 131. MacDonald, Select Charters, 258–261. Otis's speech. American Orations, I, 11–17.

4. The Stamp Act. (*a*) For text, see MacDonald, Select Charters, 281–305. Larned, Ready Reference (United States, 1765). Am. History Leaflets, No. 21. (*b*) Discussion. Fiske, Am. Revolution, I, 14–18; 20–28. (*c*) Barré's Speech in Parliament. Bancroft, III, 97–101. Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 175–176. (*d*) Resistance in the colonies. Bancroft, III, 134–141. Frothingham, 176–184. Hart, Contem., II, No. 139. (*e*) The Congress and Resolutions. MacDonald, 313–315. Hill, Liberty Documents, 155–157. Hart, Contem., II, No. 141. Frothingham, 184–189. (*f*) Franklin's examination. Hill, Liberty Documents, 158–159. B. Franklin, Am. St. Series, 102–113 (new ed.).

* In these books will be found excellent brief accounts of the topics given in the succeeding headings.

Hart, Contem., II, 407–411. Larned, Ready Reference (U. S., 1765). (*g*) The Repeal and Declaratory Act. Bancroft, III, 174–184. Lecky, 85–97. Hart, Contem., II, No. 142. British Orations, I, 98–119.

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6. George III and his ministers. Fiske, Am. Rev., I, 38–45. Hart, Contem., II, No. 130. Gardiner, Hist. of England, 765–769.

7. The Townshend Acts and opposition. Lecky, 107–115. Fiske, I, 28–32. S. Adams, Am. St. Series, 98–108; 153–159 (old ed.), 89–97, 141–164 (new ed.).

8. Samuel Adams's influence. S. Adams, Am. St. Series, 109–125 (old ed.), 107–136 (new ed.).

9. The Massachusetts circular letter. Fiske, I, 46–50. Frothingham, 211–215.

10. The Farmer's Letters. Hart, Contem., II, No. 149. Bancroft, III, 264–265.

11. British troops in Boston and the "Massacre." Fiske, I, 57–59; 66–72. Lecky, 119–132. Bancroft, 368–378. S. Adams Am. St. Series. 160–182. John Adams, Am. St. Series, 34–40 (old. ed.).

12. Committees of correspondence. Fiske, I, 77–82. S. Adams, Am. St. Series, 196–206 (old ed.), 176–195 (new ed.). Bancroft, III, 419–423; 436–438.

13. Boston "Tea Party." S. Adams, Am. St. Series, 243–256 (old ed.), 228–238 (new ed.). Hart, Contem., II, No. 152. Bancroft, III, 447–458. Old South Leaflets, No. 68.

14. The Retaliatory Acts. Lecky, 164–173, Fiske, I, 93–99. S. Adams, Am. St. Series, 264–273 (old ed.), 260–270 (new ed.).

15. The First Continental Congress. Frothingham, 359–364; 370–377. Lecky, 173–184. Fiske, I, 100–111. John Adams, Am. St. Series, 50–81. Hart, Contem., II, No. 153. MacDonald, 356–367.

16. The Declaration of Independence. Hart, Contem., II, 537–539. Jefferson, Am. St. Series, 26–40 (old ed.). Bancroft, IV, 423–425. Frothingham, 412–417; 532–539. Lecky, 244–246. Hill, Liberty Documents, 188–203. Fiske, I, 180–197.

17. The Tories. Lecky, 222–224; 255–260.

18. Make a list of events that show the growth of the spirit of union among the colonists.

19. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 10.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1776–1783

British attempt in the South, 1776.

Sir Henry Clinton, in command of the British fleet, endeavored to gain friends for the British cause by appearing in Southern waters. His attack on Charleston, South Carolina (June, 1776), had the opposite effect. Fort Moultrie was bravely defended. As a consequence, the British made no further effort to gain a foothold in the South for more than two years.

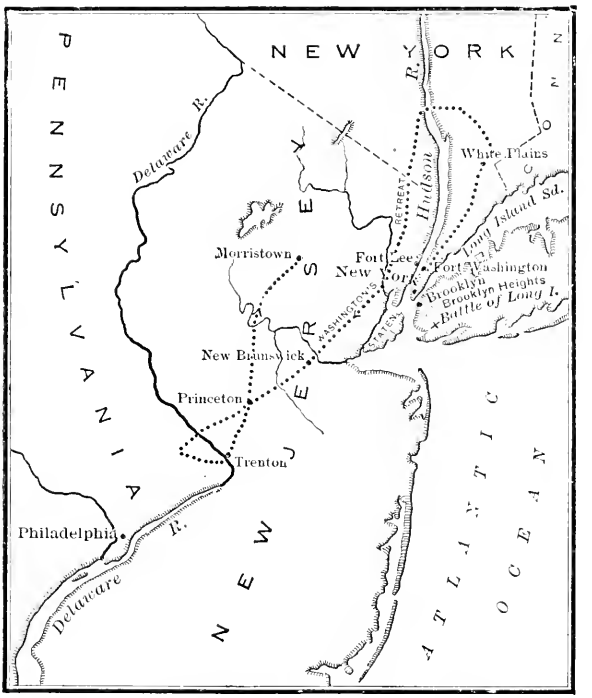
Campaign around New York, 1776.

They next struck at the strategic centre of the Atlantic coast, viz., New York and the Hudson River, hoping to cut New England off from the Middle States. Thus, before attacking New England more deliberately, they might gain a firm base west of the Hudson, and many reënforcements from the Tories. Washington, anticipating the British plans, took measures to defend New York City with an army of 17,000 men. General Howe, with an army of nearly twice that number, and supported by Admiral Lord Howe, commanding a fleet, appeared in the harbor. General Howe's attempt to dislodge Washington from Brooklyn Heights was successful (battle of Long Island, August, 1776). The latter was obliged to retreat. This he did most skilfully, his escape being made possible by Howe's failure to send the fleet to East River and by his slowness in following up his victory after the battle.

Washington, followed by Howe's army, retreated to a strong position at White Plains, and Howe did not dare make a serious effort to dislodge him. Forts Washington and Lee, guarding the Hudson, fell into British hands.

At the former the Americans lost 3,000 troops and quantities of stores. Washington had already led a part of his army across the Hudson into New Jersey, and here the British endeavored to bring about a decisive battle.

The retreat through New Jersey.



The Campaign of 1776

This would have been disastrous to the Americans, and so Washington's only policy was that of retreat.* He marched rapidly westward, through Newark, New Brunswick, and Princeton, constantly losing men by sickness and

* This was made more necessary by the fact that General Charles Lee, stationed East of the Hudson in command of 7,000 men refused to obey Washington's order to join the latter's army.

Discouragement in the American army.

desertion, until he had no more than 3,000 under his command. The British pursued, and gained reënforcements from the deserters of Washington's army and from the Tories, who predominated in New Jersey. The patriot militia refused to turn out in defence of the country, and the people of New Jersey seemed to welcome the invaders. The terms of enlistment for many of Washington's troops were expiring, and these were rapidly going home.

Victories at Trenton and Princeton.

Washington now crossed the Delaware River. Before the entire British army had advanced to Trenton, he executed his famous manœuvre of Christmas night, 1776, recrossing the Delaware and capturing 1,000 Hessians at Trenton. Again, a few days later, he made a skilful detour about Cornwallis's main army and defeated a part of it at Princeton. He then retired northward into the mountains at Morristown Heights, where he was secure from attack. The British withdrew to New York. The effect of the victories at Trenton and Princeton was remarkable. Hope now inspired the patriots. Washington had shown himself to be a master of strategy. The people of New Jersey were disgusted with the conduct of the British troops in their midst, and the Middle States were now ready to sustain the American cause.

Difficulties in securing an army.

The American troops had suffered greatly from lack of food and clothing in the hard December campaign described above, and this fact deterred many men from enlisting. Others were drawn off by the greater attractions of the privateering service. Congress had authorized attacks on British commerce by privateers, and to those engaged in it, this practice had proved to be exceedingly profitable. A third cause that hindered the formation of an effective Continental Army was the policy of the States in offering larger bounties than Congress gave, for the enlistment of men in their respective militia organizations.* Nothing but the personal influence of Washington himself

* Many of these militia companies disbanded when their States were not endangered by the enemy

held the Continental Army together. To maintain its numbers recourse was had to more bounties and heavy penalties for desertion.

Financial difficulties.

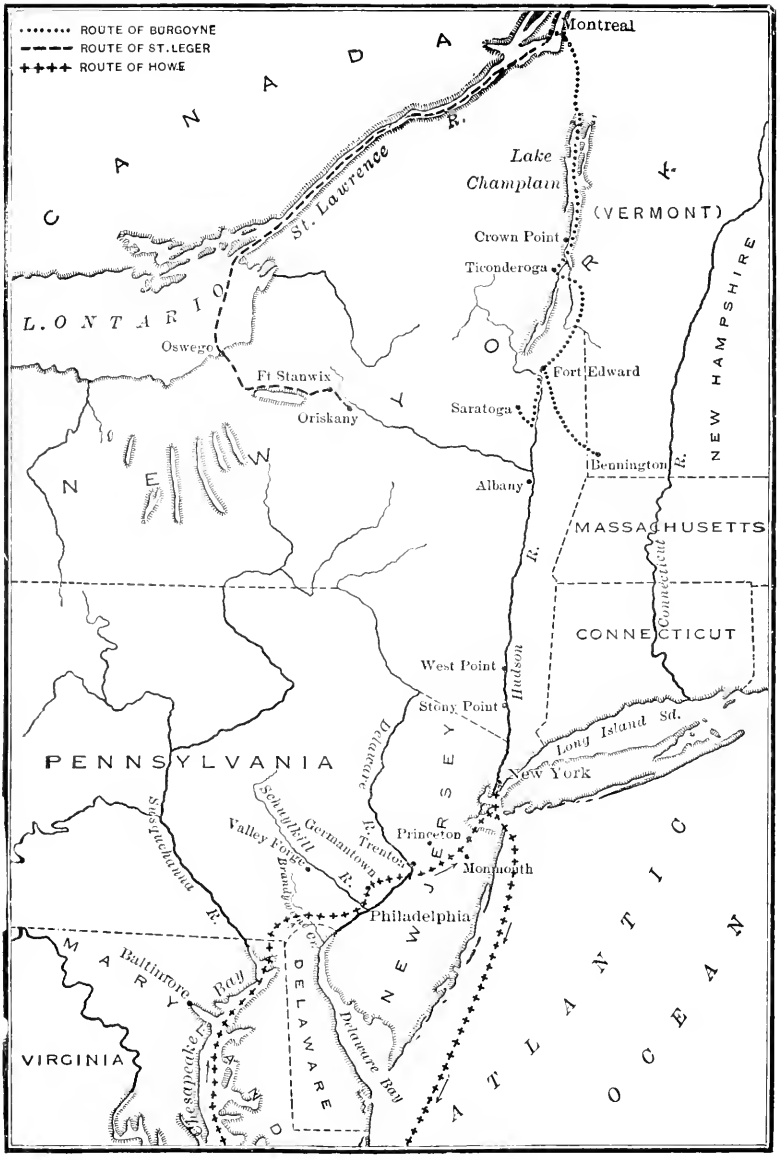
The failure to feed, clothe, and equip the army properly, was not owing to the poverty of the country; on the whole, the people were prosperous. But Congress could not obtain sufficient funds. Late in the year 1776 Congress began the policy of borrowing money upon certificates of indebtedness; but these yielded little at first. In the same year assistance came in the form of gifts of two million livres (about $400,000) from France, and one million from Spain. Later, France made larger gifts, a total of some $2,000,000. This money was used in the purchase of munitions and clothing abroad, with the connivance of the French Government.* Congress also established a lottery as a source of revenue; but this yielded small returns.

British attack from the North, 1777.

After the failure of the attack upon Canada of 1775–1776 (p. 157), it was necessary for the Americans to defend the line of Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson from British attacks directed from Canada. The year 1777 saw a renewed effort on the part of the British to capture those water-ways and thus to divide the States. General Burgoyne advanced southward from Canada, his destination being Albany. General St. Leger ascended the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to Oswego, and then planned an advance by the Mohawk valley to meet Burgoyne. General Howe was to have ascended the Hudson to join the other armies at Albany. But Howe's superiors in England neglected to sign and forward to him the precise orders for this movement until he had left New York upon a campaign in the opposite direction. Consequently, that part of the plan failed of execution.

General Burgoyne ascended the Sorel (or Richelieu) River and Lake Champlain with a fine army of 8,000 men, well

* At the same time, American privateers were allowed to use French ports, where they sold their captures. Many men and officers enlisted in the American service from France.


ROUTE OF BURGOYNE
ROUTE OF ST. LEGER
ROUTE OF HOWE
Montreal
CANADA
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain
(VERMONT)
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
L. ONTARIO
Oswego
Ft Stanwix
Oriskany
Fort Edward
Saratoga
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Bennington
Albany
MASSACHUSETTS
Connecticut R.
CONNECTICUT
West Point
Stony Point
Hudson R.
Long Island Sd.
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
Delaware R.
Schuylkill R.
Valley Forge
Germantown
Trenton
Princeton
Monmouth
Philadelphia
Susquehanna R.
Brandywine Cr.
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Bay
DELAWARE
Delaware Bay
Chesapeake
VIRGINIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

supported by Canadians and Indians. He took Ticonderoga, and his march to Fort Edward was comparatively easy; but beyond this the American army obstructed the road in every way possible. At the same time the surrounding country was cleared of provisions upon which the British might depend. Burgoyne's supplies had to be carried from Canada; his army was constantly being diminished by the necessity of garrisoning points left in his rear; about him the inhabitants were rising to support the American cause. Burgoyne's campaign.

The advance of St. Leger was successful as far as Fort Stanwix on the head-waters of the Mohawk River. To this fort he laid siege. The Americans under Herkimer attacked the besiegers; later, reënforcements under Benedict Arnold drove St. Leger's army precipitately from the fort; and so this part of the British plan failed (August, 1777).

While at Fort Edward, Burgoyne sent a force into Vermont, hoping that British sympathisers might be aroused to his assistance and supplies obtained. This expedition was utterly defeated at Bennington (August) by General Stark.

Burgoyne now (September 13, 1777) advanced across the Hudson and marched southward. A series of manœuvres and battles in the vicinity of Saratoga occupied about a month. The American force, now several times larger than the British, cut off the latter's supplies, almost completely surrounded it, and finally compelled its surrender (October). The credit for the defeat of Burgoyne belongs to General Schuyler, who, in the course of the campaign, was superseded by General Gates, and to Bendict Arnold. Kosciusko, the Polish patriot, also assisted in these operations. His defeat at Saratoga.

While Burgoyne's campaign was in progress, General Howe had placed his troops aboard ships (July, 1777), and had proceeded to Chesapeake Bay, landing at its head a month later. Washington hastened to the defence of Philadelphia, and met the British force at Brandywine creek. Here his army was defeated, and he withdrew to Philadelphia. The British followed and Washington again retreated. On October 4, the two armies met at Howe's campaign around Philadelphia, 1777.

Germantown, and the Americans were again defeated. The campaign was now over, the British comfortably occupying Philadelphia, while the Americans encamped at Valley Forge, a few miles distant. The capture of Philadelphia worked less injury to the American cause than had been expected. Congress withdrew to Lancaster, and later to York, Pennsylvania.

A frame of government proposed.

At the same time that the question of independence was under consideration (June, 1776) the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draw up a plan of union. The "Articles of Confederation," submitted by the committee were adopted by Congress in 1777. This was an effort to place the central government upon a firm constitutional basis, to determine its powers and its relations to the States. Its ratification by the States would mean a gain in efficiency for the National Government; but this action was postponed for various reasons and the weak Congress continued its control until 1781.

The failures of Congress.

The sufferings of the army at Valley Forge are evidence of the complete failure of the system under which Congress was endeavoring to manage the commissary department. Through mismanagement and the inefficiency of officers, supplies intended for the army never reached it. The membership of Congress had somewhat deteriorated in character; strong men were attracted to service in the States, and delegates to Congress were constantly changing. That body had no basis for its authority but the acquiescence of the States, and the latter acted independently in following or rejecting the recommendations of Congress. Again, Congress was not effectively organized, and it was endeavoring to handle a mass of details far beyond its power to control. As another hindrance to its efficiency, certain members of Congress conspired, with bad motives, against Washington.

During the campaign last described Washington's army was joined by Lafayette and De Kalb from France and Baron Steuben "an accomplished Prussian officer, trained in the school of Frederick the Great, with a record of distinguished service in the Seven Years' War."

After the decisive American victory at Saratoga the French Government openly contracted a treaty of alliance with the United States (February, 1778). France was to

aid the Americans in the war, while the latter agreed not to make a treaty of peace, except on the basis of independence. Commissioners were sent to America by George III offering guarantees of all the principles in dispute, except independence, but their advances were rejected.

The treaty with France, 1778.

Great credit for the French treaty belongs to Benjamin Franklin, who, "under the appearance of extreme simplicity concealed the astuteness of the most accomplished diplomatist." The reasons for which France entered the alliance may be summarized as follows: (1) Revenge for past defeats, especially that of the Seven Years' War when the American possessions were lost. (2) Desire to keep the balance of power in Europe, by striking a blow at the colonial and maritime supremacy of England. (3) Great enthusiasm over the American cause had been aroused among the French people. This was shared by many persons who were influential at court; among these were the young nobility, some army officers and philosophers, and the Queen, Marie Antoinette.

Lafayette

From a portrait painted by C. W. Peale, in 1780, for Washington. Now owned by General G. W. C. Lee, Lexington, Va.

The threatened approach of a French fleet rendered the continuance of the British army in Philadelphia unwise; consequently, in June, 1778, General Clinton * evacuated

The evacuation of Philadelphia, 1778.

* General Howe had returned to England, where he, like General Burgoyne, was busily engaged in explaining the failure of the British plans for 1777.

that city and set out for New York. Washington attacked the British army at Monmouth, New Jersey, but the disobedience of General Charles Lee, who ordered a retreat, instead of a sharp attack, rendered the results of this battle very unsatisfactory. The British army, now in New York, attempted no further general operations during the war in the Northern and Middle States. Washington held his army in the Hudson River posts, watching the British.

The mountain communities of the South.

An important phase of the Revolutionary War cannot be understood until we trace further the progress of settlement in the valleys of the Alleghany Mountains and across to the prairies beyond. Settlers from the Virginia valleys (p. 120), advancing southward, made homes upon the Watauga River (1769), and here came many discontented North Carolinians. Among these were James Robertson and John Sevier, the former typical of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who formed so large an element of the backwoods population, and the latter of Huguenot descent. Under their leadership, the community on the Watauga adopted a constitution and maintained an independent government for several years (1772–1777). Later, Watauga became a county of North Carolina. This was "the first instance of a government of the people, by the people, under a written compact, beyond the mountains, and was established by men of American birth."*

The earliest settlements beyond the mountains.

The settlements of the Carolina valleys were outposts from which proceeded the first great movement beyond the mountains. This movement took place south of the Ohio, rather than north of it for several reasons. (1) By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, made in 1768, between agents of several colonies and the Iroquois Indians, the latter ceded their claims to lands south of the Ohio River. (2) The region now known as Kentucky and Tennessee was not the permanent seat of Indian tribes. (3) Indian tribes

* Winsor, The Westward Movement 80

living north of the Ohio River were defeated in Lord Dunmore's war (1774).

In the vanguard of the westward movement was Daniel Boone. His father was a Pennsylvania frontiersman who had followed the mountain troughs southward to the Yadkin River in North Carolina. Boone's early exploration of Kentucky opened the route through Cumberland Gap, an Indian and buffalo trail. He led a body of settlers from Watauga into Kentucky and founded Boonesboro (1775). Daniel Boone.

Colonel Daniel Boone
From a portrait by Chester Harding, owned by Colonel R. T. Durrett, Louisville, Ky.

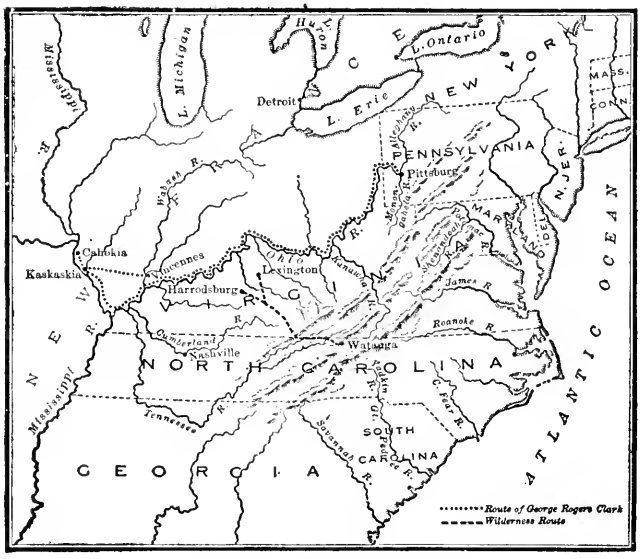
The fortunate circumstances recounted above rendered the Kentucky settlements comparatively immune from Indian attacks, and their growth was rapid. Under the leadership of Richard Henderson, delegates were sent from the various towns to a convention (1775) which organized the government of Transylvania between the Ohio and Cumberland rivers. This independent government asked Congress for admission to the Union; but the sentiment of Virginia was hostile to such action and, instead, Kentucky was made a county of that State in 1776. Transylvania and Kentucky.

Later, in 1780, Robertson led Watauga and North Carolina settlers to central Tennessee, where Nashville was founded on the Cumberland River. Tennessee.

There were three main routes of travel to these western settlements. (i) The Ohio River was reached at Pittsburg by routes through Pennsylvania or by way of the

Routes of westward travel.

Potomac and Monongahela rivers.* Thence the trip to Kentucky was easy, but somewhat dangerous on account of the hostile northern Indians.† (2) From the Virginia



The West During the Revolution

valleys settlers followed the New and Greenbrier rivers to the great Kanawha, a branch of the Ohio. (3) The

* From Philadelphia travellers went by way of Lancaster and Bedford to Pittsburg. From Baltimore the route was up the Potomac to Cumberland, Maryland; thence either to Wheeling, or to Pittsburg, following Braddock's trail.

† The canoe, pirogue, batteau, and flat boat were the river craft commonly used. The pirogue was hollowed out of the trunk of a large tree and pushed by oars or setting poles. The barge was a square box-like construction with a raised deck. It was frequently large enough to carry a number of families with their possessions, and required several men to "pole" it up stream. In 1780, three hundred of these large boats arrived at the falls of the Ohio River, where Louisville was founded. The town that year contained six hundred inhabitants

greatest number of frontiersmen moved by the Wilderness Road (see map, p. 172), which afforded, even for those from Pennsylvania and Maryland, the easiest and best protected path to the West.

Life among the Western settlers was simple and picturesque. All distinctions of rank were broken down, and here grew the first true American democracy.

Expedition of George Rogers Clark.

The British in Detroit encouraged Indian attacks upon the Kentucky settlements. This danger was met by the bold scheme of George Rogers Clark, a frontier surveyor and scout, to conquer all the British posts of the Northwest. Acting under the authority and with the assistance of Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, he captured successively Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes (1778–1779). This bold and dramatic action strengthened the claim of Virginia to this western territory, and was an important fact in the determination of our western boundary at the close of the war.

Benedict Arnold.

After the evacuation of Philadelphia, General Benedict Arnold was put in command of the American troops in that city. Here he became involved in quarrels with the city authorities. Arnold was convicted, after a court-martial trial, of a few minor offences, and was sentenced to be censured by Washington. This episode, coupled with wrongs which he had previously suffered at the hands of Congress, embittered Arnold's spirit, and he resolved upon a treasonable plot—the surrender of West Point.* The detection of this plot is a familiar story. This incident added to the depression of the patriots at this time (1780).

Finances of the United States.

Financially, the country was in desperate straits. There were three principal sources of revenue: (1) The issuance of paper money, begun in 1775 (see p. 155), was continued as follows: 1776, $19,000,000; 1777, $13,000,000; 1778, $33,000,000; 1779, $140,000,000. This amount of money was greatly in excess of the demand for business purposes among a population of three million people where commerce was not fully developed. Depreciation resulted

* The defences of this important post guarding a narrow passage in the Hudson River were constructed under the supervision of Kosciusko.

Paper money issued by Congress.

inevitably. The following figures state the value of one dollar of paper money in terms of specie in November of each year: 1776, $.66; 1777, $.20; 1778, $.10; 1779, $.02. In subsequent years dollar bills were worth but one cent, and later, absolutely nothing.* In 1780 and later, Congress redeemed some of this money at the ratio of 40 to 1, but much of it was lost and destroyed. The depreciation and practical repudiation of this money placed a heavy burden upon those who originally received it at face value. Unsuccessful attempts were made to check depreciation by laws fixing prices and by legal-tender enactments.

North Carolina Currency

Taxes levied upon the States.

(2) Congress made requisitions upon the States for money with which to pay war expenses. In the two years following November, 1777, they paid into the treasury about $55,000,000, in response to requisitions for $95,000,000. And this amount was paid in Continental currency worth at the time only $1,800,000 in specie. When, in 1780 and 1781, Congress made requisitions for $10,000,000 of specie, it received from the States about $1,500,000. The States were at this time burdened with the same task of raising revenue for the support of their local militias. They had issued great amounts of paper money early in the war, and they had borrowed much money. The ultimate source of all revenue, taxation, was difficult to put into operation among a people hitherto unused to it except in a mild form, where population was sparse, and in regions occupied by British troops.

* Hence the phrase "not worth a continental." Paper money was sometimes used for wall paper. Dewey, Financial History of United States, 41.

(3) Congress endeavored to raise money by borrowing. The specie value of $63,000,000 borrowed at home during the later years of the war was only $7,600,000. The fol-

John Paul Jones
From the original bust by Houdon in the possession of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia

lowing amounts were borrowed from foreign governments: France, $6,350,000;* Spain, $174,000; Holland, $1,300,000.

* It is estimated that France spent an equal amount upon her army and navy sent in aid of the American cause.

A part of these loans was in specie, and this was used to pay interest upon the debt contracted at home and to purchase supplies abroad.

The war on the ocean.

No inconsiderable part of the Revolutionary War was fought on the ocean. A great many cruisers were commissioned by State and National authority, and these, together with hundreds of privateers, brought havoc to English commerce. While the United States had no naval force fit to cope with the British navy, some decisive victories were won.

John Paul Jones.

Captain John Paul Jones, after commanding various ships in American waters, conceived the greater project of using a fleet to attack England in her own waters, where her coasts were defenceless, and where rich fleets might be surprised. His primary object was not enrichment through prize money, but the injury of his opponent and the attraction of British warships from American waters for home defence. His fleet was fitted out in France and cruised around west of the British Isles into the North Sea. At Flamborough Head (September, 1779), Jones, with three ships, attacked and defeated two English warships convoying a large fleet of merchantmen. This victory gained for our country the respect of foreign governments.

British victories in the South.

In 1778, the British entered upon a plan for the conquest of the Southern States, beginning with the weakest, Georgia. Savannah was taken (December), and shortly thereafter the English Government was recognized as supreme in that State. In May, 1780, General Lincoln who commanded the American forces in the South, surrendered the city of Charleston, South Carolina. Elsewhere in that State there was at first slight resistance. When an American army under Gates, faced the invaders at Camden, it was badly defeated, large bodies of the militia fleeing without giving fight.* As a result, the American army was practically dispersed, and the British ruled South Carolina.

At this point the British plan received a check. Partisan leaders, chief among whom were Marion and Sumter, gathered their bands on the western frontier, and an army under General Greene, was stationed to resist the north-

* Here DeKalb was killed, while Pulaski, a Polish patriot, met death in an earlier engagement at Charleston.

ward advance of General Cornwallis. When the latter was ready to invade North Carolina, he sent a force (composed largely of Tories) under Ferguson to harass the frontier. But the backwoodsmen of the mountain settlements completely defeated Ferguson at King's Mountain, October, 1780. Again, Morgan, commanding the western wing of the American forces, met a part of the British army under Tarleton at Cowpens (January, 1781), and completely defeated it.

American victories won by frontiersmen.

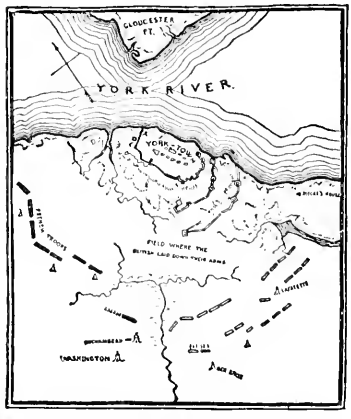
The War in the Southern States

These battles deprived the British of their most valuable contingents, the scouts and light infantry. Greene now fell back into North Carolina, drawing Cornwallis in pursuit farther from his base into a most difficult country. When the American army finally faced the enemy at Guilford Court House (March, 1781), each side suffered considerable damage; but the British could advance no farther, and withdrew to Wilmington. Greene then returned to South Carolina, where he recovered all the strongholds except Charleston.

From Wilmington Cornwallis transferred his army to Virginia, thus giving aid to the forces that, under Benedict Arnold, had for some time harassed that State. The American troops in Virginia, small in number, were commanded by Lafayette, then but twenty-three years of age. He successfully avoided Cornwallis when the latter invaded

The campaign in Virginia

Virginia. Failing to arouse Tory reënforcements and fearing to remain away from the coast, the British general soon withdrew to the York peninsula and asked for reënforcements from New York. At New York, Sir Henry Clinton was expecting an attack by Washington. The latter was awaiting the aid of a powerful French fleet, then in the West Indies, before determining where the blow should fall. On August 14th, news reached Washington that the French fleet under De Grasse had started for Chesapeake Bay. This determined him at once upon a bold movement. Uniting with his 2,000 American troops a French force of 4,000, under Rochambeau, he moved into New Jersey, leaving a force to guard West Point. Most skilfully Washington now so manœuvred as to deceive the British into thinking that he contemplated an attack upon New York. Instead, his troops marched with great rapidity across New Jersey, through Philadelphia, to the head of Chesapeake Bay.



Map Showing the Position of the French and American Troops at Yorktown

The siege and surrender of Yorktown, 1781.

When Clinton discovered the true state of affairs he despatched a fleet to attack De Grasse in Hampton Roads; but it was worsted and returned to New York. Nothing now remained but to transport Washington's army down Chesapeake Bay and up the James River, where, with another force brought by the French fleet, they joined Lafayette's army. The investment of Yorktown from the land and the water sides was now complete. From September, 28th to October 17th, Cornwallis withstood the siege and

the repeated assaults of the allied forces; he then surrendered.

The end of the war.

Many considerations, besides British defeats in America, determined that the surrender of Cornwallis should end the war. During the few preceding years England had aroused the enmity of nearly every European power. Arrayed against her in open war were France, Spain, and Holland. Thus it became increasingly difficult to maintain the army in America. At home King George was no longer able to stem the tide of opposition that had condemned the war from the beginning. The mass of common people, as they came to understand the King's methods of government, turned against him with great bitterness. A majority of them now regarded the war as "a civil war in which English liberty was at stake." Even Lord North's ministry had acted, in obedience to the King, "under compulsion and against their consciences." In March, 1782, George finally gave in, Lord North resigned, and the government was turned over to his enemies. The new ministry ordered a cessation of hostilities in America.

Negotiations for treaty.

The commissioners now sent to Paris to agree upon terms of peace were Franklin, Jay, and John Adams.* In the treaty with France (1778), the United States had agreed not to make a separate treaty with England. The commissioners practically ignored this pledge, and the instructions from Congress to the same effect, by secretly coming to an agreement with the English Government. But the treaty was not signed until the European war terminated and the nations involved agreed upon terms of peace (1783).

In acting as they did the American commissioners were inspired by fear that the French minister, Vergennes, would support the desire of Spain (the ally of France) that the United States should be restricted to the Alleghany Mountains on the west.

* Jefferson and Laurens were also appointed, but took no part in the negotiations.

The boundaries agreed upon were exceedingly liberal to the United States, but they were indefinite at two points: *i. e.*, the line between Canada and New England, and that beyond Lake Superior. These had to be adjusted by subsequent treaties.

The terms of the treaty, 1783.

The Western boundary followed the Mississippi River to 31° latitude. Thence the line ran eastward to the Atlantic. The United States agreed to recommend to the States that they pass laws favorable to the Tories whose property had been confiscated; also, it was agreed that no obstacles should be placed by law in the way of British creditors collecting debts due in America. These two provisions satisfied British pride, but of course, Congress could not compel the States to take any action to which they were opposed. There was ground for future controversy in these subjects. The Americans were guaranteed the right to enjoy the privilege of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. The defence of Charleston (1776) is described in Fiske, American Revolution, I, 198–200. Bancroft, IV, 398–411.

2. Conditions in the American army. Lecky, American Revolution, 253–257. Van Tyne, the American Revolution, 118–129.

3. The Battle of Long Island and Washington's retreat. Fiske, I, 204–212. Sloane, French War and Revolution, 238–243. Bancroft, IV, 27–38. Larned, History for Ready Reference, United States, August, 1776. For a recent critical view see American Historical Review, I, 650–670.

4. Explain the capture of Forts Washington and Lee. Fiske, I, 218–224.

5. Washington's retreat; the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Larned, September–November, 1776. Fiske, I, 224–238. Sloane, 243–245; 251–258.

6. Why were laws fixing prices unsuccessful, and what evils followed these and the legal tender laws? Lecky, 290–294.

7. Who were Silas Deane and Beaumarchais, and how did they aid the American cause? Larned, A. D., 1776–1778.

8. Hart, Contemporaries, II. (*a*) Nathan Hale and his fate, No. 171 (see also Bancroft, IV, 48–49). (*b*) How the work of re

cruiting was done, No. 170. (*c*) Lafayette and his enlistment, No. 172. (*d*) Washington's complaints against the militia, No. 174. (*e*) Life in the American Army, Nos. 175, 179, 195.

9. Paper money and its depreciation. Was it necessary? Dewey, Financial History of U. S., 39–43. Sloane, 283–286.

10. Conditions at Valley Forge. Washington's letter to Congress. Larned, January–December, 1777. Fiske, II, 29.

11. Steuben's work in disciplining the American Army. Fiske, II, 50–56.

12. The Conway cabal and General Gates, Fiske, II, 32–46.

13. The story of Lafayette's coming to America is told in his memoirs, Old South Leaflets, No. 97, 1–9.

14. Letters that passed between Washington and Lafayette, Old South Leaflets, No. 98, 1–10.

15. Reasons why the French made the treaty of 1778. Fiske, I, 238–242. Van Tyne, The American Revolution, 203–226.

16. Indians and Tories in New York and Pennsylvania. Fiske, II, 82–94. Larned, June–November, 1778; July, 1778.

17. Arnold's treason and the justice of André's execution. Lecky, 403–419. Fiske, II, 206–238. Sloane, 300–301; 325–327.

18. George Rogers Clark and his expedition. Fiske, II, 103–109. Larned, A. D., 1778–1779.

19. Topics in Fiske, II. (*a*) Chatham's last speech and his death, 11–22. (*b*) Charles Lee and his character, 59–72. (*c*) John Paul Jones and his victory, 116–130. (*d*) Marion and Sumter, 182–185. (*e*) King's Mountain and Cowpens, 244–255. Cornwallis in Virginia and the surrender of Yorktown, 268–284. (*f*) Results of Yorktown, 285–290.

20. Lodge, Story of the American Revolution (illustrated), in Scribner's Magazine, Vols. 23 and 24.

21. On Boone, see Thwaites, Daniel Boone.

22. The Western Settlements. Howard, Preliminaries of the Revolution, 334–341.

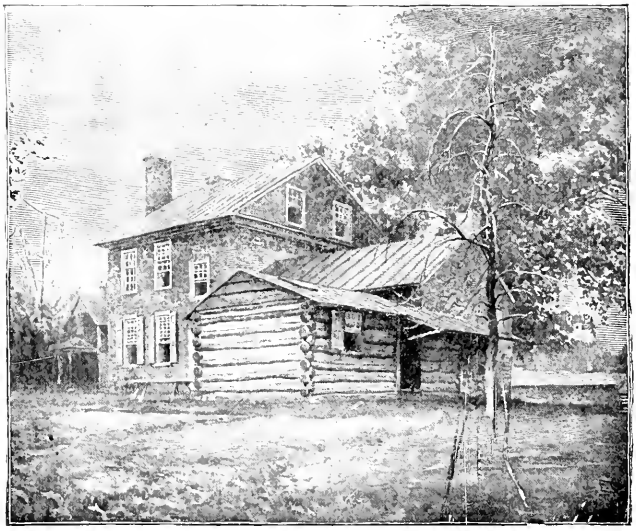
23. What reasons can you state explaining why the Americans won in the Revolution?

24. Why should the Spanish wish to restrict the limits of the United States on the West?

25. The treaty of 1783. Hart, Formation of the Union, 95–101. Channing, the United States, 102–106. Sloane, French War and Revolution, 355–369. Hart, Contemporaries, II, No. 216.

26. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 11.

27. Historical Novels. Cooper, The Spy; The Pilot. Churchill, Richard Carvel. Ford, Janice Meredith. Thompson, Alice of Old Vincennes. Mitchell, Hugh Wynne.



The old Potts House at Valley Forge, used by Washington as Headquarters.

Now a Revolutionary Museum

CHAPTER XII

THE PERIOD OF THE CONFEDERATION, 1781–1789

Forming the Articles of Confederation.

THE problems of self-government were no simpler than were those connected with the winning of independence. To the masses of the people, Congress seemed another government, external to their local governments, assuming authority similar to that which the King had striven to enforce. As they had previously rebelled against the restrictions of the English Government, so now they objected to the exercise of authority by Congress. It became evident, to some of the leaders, that if the elements of union were to be strengthened it would be necessary to have a government more effective than this Revolutionary Assembly. November 17, 1777, the Articles of Confederation were finally adopted by Congress and recommended to the States for ratification. Among the problems under discussion most difficult of solution by Congress were: (1) What powers were to be given the General Government and what powers retained by the States; (2) How were disputes among the States to be settled; (3) The number of votes to be given each State; and (4) The method of raising revenue.

Nature of the government established.

The Articles of Confederation provided for a "firm league of friendship" between the States. The authority of the Central Government was vested in a Congress of delegates who were appointed annually by and were responsible to the State legislatures. Not less than two nor more than seven members could be sent from each State. Each State was entitled to only a single vote on any ques-

tion. Among the powers of Congress were: the "exclusive right and power of declaring war and making peace"; authority to raise an army by calling upon each State for its quota of troops and to build and equip a navy; and power to establish and regulate post-offices and to send and receive ambassadors.

Defects in the government.

There were many defects also in the actual working of this government. It provided for no separate executive authority to execute and no separate judiciary to interpret the laws. Congress might make the laws but could not enforce them. This was because the General Government had no power of taxation but was obliged to depend upon the State legislatures for necessary revenues Congress acted on the States, not on individuals, but it had no power to coerce the States. "Its function was to advise, not to command." Besides, no important measure could be passed in Congress without the votes of nine States. The Articles could not be amended save by the ratification of all the States. It is clear, then, that the Articles of Confederation did not institute a nation, but formed merely a league of States. We think of them as constituting a weak instrument of government. We must remember, however, that as a constitution for a confederation, it was superior to any which had been previously formed. But circumstances, which we shall now consider, showed that a confederation was not adapted to the growing needs of the United States.

Ratification by the legislatures.

Nearly three years and a half elapsed after the date of the submission of the Articles of Confederation to the States before they were ratified by the last legislature, that of Maryland. Delay was due to the disputes which had arisen over the disposal of the lands between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. Seven States laid claim to this territory.

Western land claims.

The Carolinas and Georgia claimed (under various charters and grants) the region south of the Virginia line lying west of their borders as far as the Mississippi. Massachusetts laid claim,

under her charter of 1629 and Connecticut under a charter of 1662, to strips of land west of the boundary of New York. (See map p. 187.)

But the claims of Virginia and New York were the most far-reaching. Virginia maintained that the charter of 1609 gave her control not alone of Kentucky but also of the territory extending north-west from the Ohio River to Lake Superior. Besides, it was stated as an additional right to this claim that Virginia soldiers supported by Virginia money and under the leadership of George Rogers Clark had won this territory in 1778–1779. New York maintained that on account of various treaties she had become the lawful successor to the Western lands formerly claimed by the Iroquois.

Maryland refuses to ratify the Articles.

The other States were unable to advance any claims to Western lands. They maintained, however, that this territory had been gained through a war in which there had been common sacrifice and that the individual States should surrender their claims. Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation unless first assured that these lands were to become the property of the United States. The other States had ratified by February, 1779, but Maryland feared the future power of Virginia. Virginia planned to pay off her soldiers by grants of Western lands, while Maryland would be compelled to meet this obligation by taxation. Congress, on October 10, 1780 suggested that the States should cede their unappropriated lands to the General Government to be disposed of "for the common good of the United States." New York had already decided to give up her claims. Virginia, in January, 1781, promised to take like action. Maryland then agreed to ratify, and the Articles of Confederation soon went into operation.

The States cede their western lands.

New York relinquished all of her western lands in 1781. Virginia, in 1784, completed her cession of western territory, reserving jurisdiction over Kentucky, which remained a part of Virginia until 1792, when it became a State. Virginia also reserved a tract north of the Ohio as bounty land for soldiers of the Revolution. Massachusetts surrendered her claims in 1786. Connecticut, in her cession of the same year, reserved a strip of

land one hundred and twenty miles long west of Pennsylvania, on the shore of Lake Erie. A part of this *Western Reserve* was sold, and the proceeds were used to aid the Connecticut schools.

In 1800 Connecticut granted to the United States complete authority over the "Reserve," some 3,250,000 acres. In 1787 South Carolina surrendered her claim; North Carolina, in 1790, gave Congress jurisdiction over her remaining western lands. The territory between the present western boundary of Georgia and the Mississippi River was not ceded by Georgia until 1802.

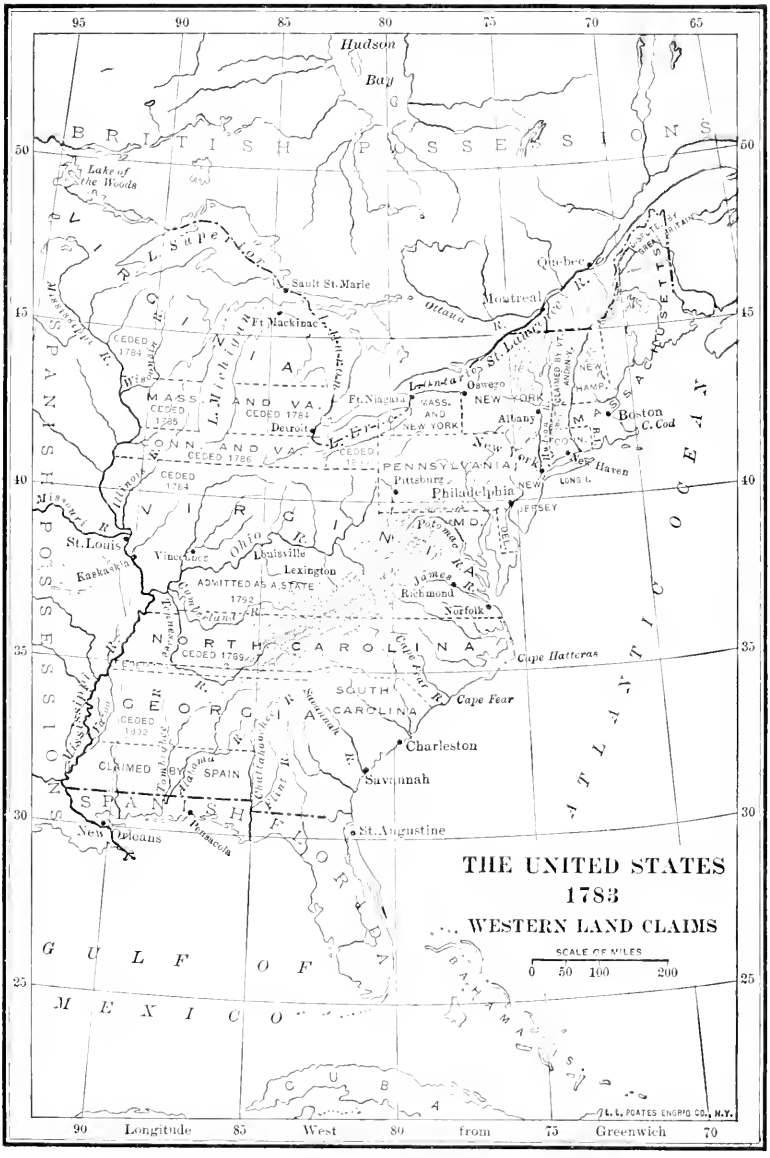
Results of the cessions.

There can be no doubt about the importance of these cessions. A series of inevitable controversies over conflicting claims were thus happily escaped. From that time, this western territory was regarded as the property of the Confederation to be used for National purposes. Here was the beginning of the *National Domain*. The interest felt by the States in this mutual property has always strengthened the ties of union.

Roosevelt, The Winning of the West. I. 219.

While the contest over the adoption of the Articles of Confederation went on, sturdy pioneers continued to cross the mountains and take possession in their own way of the lands in dispute. "They possessed the courage that enabled them to defy outside foes, together with the rough, practical common-sense that allowed them to establish a simple but effective form of government, so as to preserve order among themselves. To succeed in the wilderness it was necessary to possess not only daring, but also patience, and the capacity to endure grinding toil. The pioneers were hunters and husbandmen." . . . "As a rule, each knot of settlers was gathered together into a little stockaded hamlet, called a fort or station."

By 1784 it is estimated that there were 30,000 people in Kentucky alone, and 12,000 more came during that year. Some of them, by blazing a tree and marking it with the date and the number of acres, established what was called a "tomahawk claim" to the land. Others, by clearing a few acres and planting them, set up what was known as the "corn title." These possessions must be defended against the attacks of the Indians or seizure by other


THE UNITED STATES
1783
WESTERN LAND CLAIMS
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Hudson Bay
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Lake of the Woods
L. Superior
Sault St. Marie
Ft. Mackinac
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Ontario
Oswego
NEW YORK
Ft. Niagara
MASS. AND NEW YORK
Albany
Boston
C. Cod
MASS.
CONN.
New Haven
LONG I.
NEW JERSEY
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
MD.
DEL.
Potomac R.
Richmond
Norfolk
James R.
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
Cape Fear R.
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Savannah
Savannah R.
St. Augustine
FLORIDA
Pensacola
Tombigbee R.
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Mississippi R.
New Orleans
CLAIMED BY SPAIN
GEORGIA
CEDED 1802
NORTH CAROLINA
CEDED 1789
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
ADMITTED AS A STATE 1792
Louisville
Lexington
Ohio R.
Vincennes
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Wisconsin R.
Mississippi R.
VIRGINIA
CEDED 1784
MASS. AND VA.
CEDED 1785
CONN. AND VA.
CEDED 1786
CEDED 1784
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
Detroit
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMAS
CUBA
Longitude West from Greenwich
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

settlers, who came with "land warrants" from the government of Virginia. It is stated that one thousand boats, carrying settlers, descended the Ohio River in a single year. Most of the settlers went to the Kentucky side, but many ascended the river valleys to the north. Indian lands were seized regardless of the proclamation by Congress, in 1783, that such occupation was unlawful.

Survey of the western lands.

Congress determined, even before the cessions of western lands were completed, to sell them and in this way partially provide for the payment of the National debt. The provision for the first systematic survey of these lands was made in 1785.

The rectangular system.

The rectangular survey was to be used. This plan had been suggested the year before by a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. According to this system, lands were divided into townships six miles square. One section of each township was to be set aside for the support of the public schools. Land was to be sold at a minimum price of one dollar an acre, a price which did not cover the actual cost of the survey.

The Ordinance of 1784.

Congress had no constitutional authority for governing this territory. As early as 1780, however, it had been proposed to make new States out of it, and in pursuance of this plan, Jefferson, 1784, submitted a report providing for the government of the whole western country. It was proposed to make fourteen States, each having a classic name, as Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Illinoia. These States might adopt constitutions like that of any of the original States and become members of the Confederation. The ordinance was adopted by Congress when the clause abolishing slavery "after the year 1800" was removed, but the names suggested for the States were rejected. The ordinance remained practically a dead letter for the next three years, when it became the foundation for the more famous Northwest Ordinance.

The Ordinance of 1787.

In 1786, the "Ohio Company of Associates" was organized at Boston in the interests of Revolutionary soldiers who desired to procure homes in the West. Generals Rufus Putnam and Samuel Parsons and Manasseh Cutler, a minister, were the directors. In July, 1787, while a committee of Congress was considering an ordinance for the government of the Northwest, Cutler asked

that lands in this territory might be exchanged for the soldiers' certificates held by members of the Ohio Company. The draft of the Ordinance was submitted to him, and he became the author of some of its notable provisions.

This famous Ordinance, having received the votes of the eight States then represented in Congress, became a law, July 13, 1787.

Some provisions of the Ordinance

It applied only to the government to be organized for the territory bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes, a territory out of which from three to five States were to be formed. The officers of government to be appointed by Congress were a governor and three judges. Provision was made for a general assembly so soon as there should be five thousand free white men in the territory. This assembly, besides having certain legislative powers, was authorized to elect a delegate to Congress who should have the right to take part in debate but not to vote. Settlers were to be granted religious freedom and right of trial by jury. Schools were to be encouraged. Slavery and involuntary servitude were prohibited except as a punishment for crime, "whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Social and religious progress and the origin of the Northwest Ordinance

Nathan Dane and Rufus King were prominent members of the committee which drafted the ordinance. The former was chairman. Speaking broadly, the ordinance represents the substance of the discussions of years over the problems of western settlement. It indicates also the progress which was then being made towards social and religious freedom. The legislature of Virginia, under the leadership of Jefferson, by an act of 1778, prohibited the importation of slaves into that State from foreign countries. All of the other States save Georgia and South Carolina had, by 1787, abolished or placed restrictions on the importation of negroes. In most of the Northern States, emancipation had been accomplished or begun.

In 1776 Jefferson, in the legislature of Virginia, had directed an attack against aristocracy and had brought about the destruction of the rule of primogeniture in that State. Similar action was taken in other States.

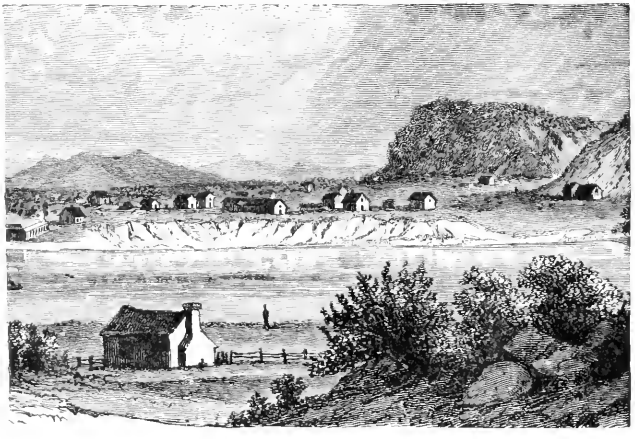
Influence of the Ordinance

The Ordinance became a model for the later organization of territories. It has been classed in importance with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. "I doubt," said Webster, "whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more

distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

First land sales and settlements.

On October 27, 1787, the Ohio Company secured about a million acres of western lands. General Putnam was elected leader. Two divisions of the pioneers, forty-eight in all, set out from Ipswich, Massachusetts. After crossing the Hudson, they passed through Pennsylvania and reached the Youghiogheny River, early in 1788. With



View of Pittsburg in 1790

rude boats and canoes, hastily built, the voyagers moved down this river to Pittsburg, thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum. There, as previously agreed upon, they founded a town, Marietta. Meantime, General Arthur St. Clair had been appointed Governor. He reached Marietta in July, 1788, was received with "due honors," and within a few days put into force the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance.

In May, 1788, about a quarter of a million acres of land between the Great and Little Miami rivers were secured by John Cleves Symmes and a few associates. The terms of purchase were practically the same as those of the Ohio

Company. A New Jersey colony of sixty persons, under Judge Symmes, reached the grant, September 22, 1788. Within two months a settlement was begun on the site of the city of Cincinnati. Here Fort Washington was built during the winter of 1789–1790. Governor St. Clair established his head-quarters there in 1790.

Foreign relations under the Confederation.

Some of the foreign powers early showed a desire to enter into treaty relations with the new Confederation. A commercial treaty was made with Holland in 1782, and in the following year that nation sent a minister. France was the only other nation represented in America at the time. In 1783, Sweden, and in 1785, Prussia also made commercial treaties.

Commerce with England and her colonies.

At the close of the war, however, American foreign trade was chiefly with Great Britain. That nation refused to make a commercial treaty, since any State might break it, and still seem determined to interfere with American commerce. In 1783, it was decreed, by an Order in Council, that trade between the United States and the British West Indies could be carried on only in vessels which were British built and were owned and manned by subjects of Great Britain. The retaliatory measures of the States on British commerce were of little effect.

It was hoped that John Adams, who was appointed Minister to Great Britain in 1785, would secure more satisfactory relations. But his efforts were futile, and upon his own request he was recalled in 1787. "It is very apparent," he wrote from England, "that we shall never have a satisfactory arrangement with this country, until Congress shall be made by the States supreme in matters of foreign commerce and until Congress shall have exerted that supremacy with a decent firmness."

Besides, the terms of the treaty of 1783 had been kept by neither party. The States placed obstacles in the way of British creditors collecting their private debts in America. On the other hand, Great Britain declined to make compensation for the slaves carried away by the English army,

and continued to hold her Western forts, the most important being Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinac.

Difficulties with Spain.

Spain contended that the boundary of her territory should be farther north than the thirty-first parallel agreed upon in the treaty of Paris. In 1785, therefore, Gardoqui, envoy from Spain, offered to enter into a treaty of commerce with the United States providing the Mississippi were closed to American traders south of this line, the mouth of the Yazoo River. Northern merchants, desirous of Spanish trade, were willing to accept these terms. The people of the West protested; for New Orleans as a market, and a port from which their products might be shipped, would thus be closed to them.*

John Jay

The earliest known portrait of him, engraved, in 1783, from a pencil drawing by Du Simitiere, made in 1779

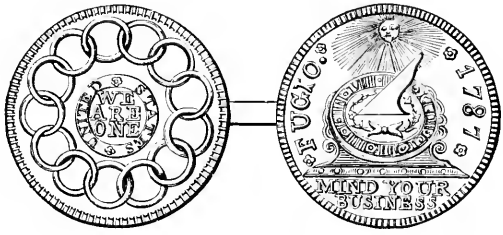
John Jay, representing the United States, on August 3, 1786, recommended that Congress consent to a treaty for twenty-five years upon the terms submitted by the Spanish Minister. Delegates from New England favored this action, but it was opposed by those of the South.

Meantime, the boat and property of a trader from North Carolina were seized by Spanish officers at Natchez. American soldiers at Vincennes retaliated by sacking the store of a Spaniard. The Western settlers threatened to secede from the Union if the terms favored by Jay were accepted. Congress feared to take action, and the controversy was not finally settled until 1795.

* Their chief products, corn and pork, were so bulky that it was impracticable to transport them over the mountains to the Eastern markets.

Not only were the States jealous of the power of the Central Government, but they were also envious of one another. It seemed at times that civil war would result from the selfish policy pursued by the States. New York taxed the products coming to its markets from Connecticut and New Jersey. Merchants of Connecticut agreed to hold no intercourse with New York. New Jersey taxed

Controversies among the States.



The Franklin Penny First United States Coin

the light-house recently built by New York City on Sandy Hook. Similar controversies arose between the other States.

The financial distress of the Government during the Revolution continued, and developed during the years of the Confederation. Foreign trade soon drained the country of the greater part of its specie. Sales of public lands cancelled the certificates of indebtedness, but brought in little money. The Continental currency was worthless. Robert Morris, who had been superintendent of finances since 1781, resigned his office in 1784. Management of the finances was entrusted to a Congressional Committee of three, called "The Board of the Treasury." The States became more delinquent in furnishing the sums of money asked by Congress. Requisitions amounting to $10,000,000 had been made on the States between November 1, 1781, and January 1, 1786, but less than $2,500,000 came into the treasury. This sum was not adequate to meet the interest on the national debt then amounting to $42,000,000. At the beginning of the year 1786, Madison

Financial problems of the Government.

wrote Randolph: "Our situation is becoming every day more and more critical. No money comes into the Federal treasury; no respect is paid to the Federal authority; and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing Confederacy is tottering to its foundation."

Disorder within the States.

Business confidence had wellnigh disappeared. In 1785, under the lead of the debtor classes, the demand became general for new issues of paper money by the State governments. Seven legislatures yielded to the demand. Scarcely were the notes in circulation before they began to depreciate in value and people refused to accept them in payment of debts. In Rhode Island, any person who refused to accept the bills of the State was subject to a fine of one hundred dollars and the loss of his rights as a freeman.

Shays's Rebellion, 1786.

Discontent was most pronounced in Massachusetts, a discontent due to stagnation in business, lack of employment, and the consequent inability of debtors to pay their debts. As frequently happens at such times, the restless, idle, and vicious, asserted their wrongs. Hatred for lawyers who tried cases against helpless debtors and for judges was especially bitter. Armed mobs prevented the holding of court at Worcester and some other towns. During the closing months of 1786, some nineteen hundred insurgents were collected under the leadership of Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army. He was not a man to maintain discipline among such followers. An attempt to capture the United States arsenal at Springfield was foiled through their defeat by the State troops. Within a short time they were completely routed and Shays and one hundred and fifty of his followers were made prisoners. Many others escaped into adjoining States. There were similar outbreaks in Vermont and New Hampshire.

Attempts to amend the Articles.

Something must be done to supply Congress with revenue, since the amount received from the States was not adequate to pay the running expenses of the Government. The attempt, in 1781, to give Congress the right to lay a

duty of five per cent. on imports was defeated by the vote of Rhode Island. Two years later, Congress proposed, in order to provide for the interest on the public debt, that it be given authority, for twenty-five years to levy specific duties on imports. The States were to appoint the collectors. This amendment was also ratified by twelve States, but was defeated by the vote of New York. Other attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation failed.

As we have seen, the nation was drifting rapidly toward anarchy and open rebellion. In the dark days of Shays's Rebellion, Washington wrote to Lee, then in Congress: "You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found or if obtainable that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have one by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured or let us know the worst." This expressed the sentiment which was general with Madison, Hamilton, and other leaders. The advance toward a stronger Union was thus made possible.

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3. Why was the adoption of the Articles so long delayed? Hart, Contemporaries, II, 189. Hart, Formation of the Union, 93–95.

4. Elements of disunion among the people. Walker, Making of the Nation, 1–5.

5. Read the Articles of Confederation. Powers of Congress. Powers of the separate States. Method of voting. See American History Leaflets, No. 20, James and Sanford, Government in State and Nation, Appendix B.

6 The rectangular survey and its advantages. James and Sanford, Government in State and Nation, 280–283.

7. Slavery under the Confederation. Fiske, Critical Period, 70–83.

8. The attitude of Jefferson toward freedom of religion and toward slavery. Jefferson, Am. St. Series, 70–83.

9. The Northwest Ordinance. Old South Leaflets, Nos. 13, 42. Hart, Contemporaries, III, No. 46.

10. The Ohio Company and settlement of Marietta. McMaster, History of the United States, I, 505–519. Old South Leaflets, No. 40. Hart, Contemporaries, III, No. 32. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, III, chap. 6.

11. What does the attempt to organize the State of Franklin illustrate? Walker, Making of the Nation, 12.

12. Great Britain and American commerce. Fiske, Critical Period, 137–140.

13. The nature of the money of the period and its influence? Fiske, Critical Period, 162–186. McLaughlin, The Confederation and the Constitution, 138–154.

14. Shays's Rebellion and other disturbances. McMaster, History of the United States, I, 302–354. McLaughlin, The Confederation and the Constitution, 154–167.

15. Proposals to amend the Articles of Confederation. American History Leaflets, No. 28.

16. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 12.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The Convention at Alexandria, 1785.

DISPUTES were common between Virginia and Maryland over the navigation of the Potomac River and of Chesapeake Bay. Finally, in 1785, commissioners from these States, on the recommendation of Madison, met at Alexandria. In their report they suggested the appointment of a commission every second year to consider the commercial regulations of those States bordering on the Potomac and the Chesapeake. When considering the report, the Maryland Assembly agreed to invite Pennsylvania and Delaware to send commissioners. The Virginia Legislature proposed a convention of delegates from all the States to consider the condition of the trade of the Confederation which was to meet at Annapolis (September 11, 1786).

The Annapolis Convention, 1786.

There were present at Annapolis on the appointed day, commissioners from Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Commissioners from some of the other States were on their way, but Maryland, Georgia, South Carolina and Connecticut had appointed none. Nothing final could be accomplished with so few States represented; but before adjourning they agreed to a resolution framed by Alexander Hamilton, which proposed a convention to meet at Philadelphia for the purpose of preparing amendments to the Articles of Confederation. Not until delegates had been appointed by six States did Congress practically approve of the plan by recommending to the States a convention identical with the one

already provided for by the Annapolis resolution. The remaining States, Rhode Island excepted, soon appointed delegates.

Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 1787.

The day fixed for the Convention was May 14, but not until May 25 was there a quorum of delegates from seven States present at Philadelphia. Seventy-three delegates were appointed as members in this, one of the most memorable assemblies that the world has ever known, but only fifty-five attended. Washington was unanimously chosen President of the Convention. He took no active part in the debates but his presence was an inspiration to the other members, and his influence at critical times cannot be measured. Besides Franklin, seven other signers of the Declaration of Independence were present. Among these were Roger Sherman of Connecticut, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania. Edmund Randolph and James Madison came, with others, from Virginia. Of Madison, called the "Father of the Constitution," a member wrote: "From a spirit of industry and application which he possesses in a most eminent degree, he always comes forward the best informed man on any point in debate." Rufus King came from Massachusetts. Delaware sent John Dickinson. Among the other more notable members were Alexander Hamilton of New York; Governor William Paterson of New Jersey; Luther Martin of Maryland; and the two Pinckneys and John Rutledge from South Carolina.

Our knowledge of the Convention.

The Convention lasted from May 25 to September 17, 1787. The members sat behind closed doors. The official journal was entrusted to Washington, who deposited it in the public archives in 1796. It was published in 1819 as a part of the first volume of "Elliot's Debates." We can gather little from the Journal with regard to what was said by the members in these immortal debates. Fortunately, Madison, who was present every day, took careful notes on the various discussions. "Nor was I unaware," he wrote, "of the value of such a contribution to the fund of materials for the history of a Constitution on which would be staked the happiness of a people great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of liberty throughout the world." Hasty

Madison's Notes.

notes were also taken by King, Yates, and a few other members. Letters written by some of the members to their friends during the first days also give us valuable material on some phases of the Convention.

The Virginia Plan.

The magnitude of the labor of the Convention can be understood only as we read the discussions in Madison's Notes. The actual work was begun on May 30, when the Convention went into a committee of the whole for the purpose of considering a series of fifteen resolutions that had been presented the day before by Edmund Randolph. The plan of government set forth in them, known as the Virginia Plan, was largely the work of Madison. It was under consideration until June 13, and was then submitted to the Convention. Among its provisions were the following: (1) That a National Government should be formed possessing supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers; (2) that the legislative power should be vested in a Congress of two separate houses, viz., a House of Delegates to be chosen by the people of the States, and a Senate to be elected by the House of Delegates; (3) that the representation in both houses should be based on population or on contributions to the support of the Government, and (4) that the executive should be chosen by both houses of Congress and the members of the judiciary by the Senate. It had been attacked fiercely in the committee by the delegates from the smaller States who desired to maintain equality of State representation. They held that if the plan proposed were adopted the Government would pass into the hands of the large States.

The New Jersey Plan.

The small States agreed upon a series of eleven resolutions, known as the New Jersey Plan, which were presented by Mr. Paterson of that State on June 15. They provided for a continuance of the government under the Articles of Confederation, which were to be revised in such a manner as to give to Congress the power to regulate commerce, raise revenue, and coerce the States. There were also to be executive and judicial departments. This plan

of the small States expressed the ideas of those opposing the Virginia plan upon two points; (1) a supreme National Government; and (2) proportional representation. It was agreed upon among the members from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Luther Martin of Maryland.

The Pinckney Plan.

On the same day that the Virginia Plan was brought before the Convention, Charles Pinckney submitted a series of resolutions resembling those presented by Randolph. It never received a separate consideration, but had considerable influence on parts of the Constitution.

Hamilton's views.

Hamilton wanted a highly centralized government. He sketched a brief outline of government which provided that the terms of the "Governor," Senators, and Judges were to be during good behavior. It was not, however, formally proposed to the Convention and was never referred to a committee. A few days before the adjournment of the Convention, Hamilton entrusted to Madison for preservation a more elaborate plan. This plan had no influence whatever on the final draft of the Constitution.

The Virginia *vs.* the New Jersey Plan.

The contest centered on the Virginia and the New Jersey Plans. Those who opposed the Virginia Plan asserted that it would destroy the sovereignty of the States; and that they did not possess the power to create such a government. Said Paterson: "I came here not to speak my own sentiments but the sentiments of those who sent me. Our object is not such a government as may be best in itself, but such a one as our constituents have authorized us to prepare and as they will approve." To this sentiment Randolph replied: "When the salvation of the Republic is at stake, it would be treason not to propose what we find necessary. . . . The true question is whether we shall adhere to the federal plan, or introduce the national plan. The insufficiency of the former has been fully displayed by the trial already made." Finally, the arguments of Madison, Wilson, and King triumphed, and the Virginia Plan was accepted as the basis for a new Constitution. The debates became even more heated than before as resolution after resolution was considered. The critical time came when the

clause which provided for proportional representation was reached. The opposition asserted that they would rather submit to a foreign power than be deprived of equality of suffrage in both branches of the Legislature.

The Connecticut compromise.

Finally, a vote on June 29 indicated that membership in the House of Representatives was to be based upon proportional representation. This was a victory for the national men. How was the Senate to be constituted? The delegates from Connecticut demanded that the States have equality of representation in the second branch of the National Legislature. Over this proposition the votes of the States were evenly divided. A committee of one member from each State to which the question was submitted recommended that each State should have an equal vote in the Senate. After another heated debate, this was accepted by the Convention on July 16. When the small States were given an equal vote with the large States in the Senate, they no longer feared "absorption," and united in giving yet greater powers to the General Government.

Article I, section 2, clause 3.

Article I, section 3, clause 1.

Number of Representatives.

How were the number of Representatives from each State to be determined and direct taxes to be apportioned? If the number of representatives from each State was to depend on population alone, the delegates feared that the new States which might be formed west of the mountains would gain too great power. "If the Western people get the power into their hands," Gouverneur Morris declared, "they will ruin the Atlantic interests." The motion that the number of members sent to the House by the new States should never exceed those sent by the old, was lost, although it was favored by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware and Maryland.

The three fifths compromise.

Were slaves to be counted in establishing the basis of representation and apportionment of direct taxes? The South Carolina delegates maintained that slaves were a part of the population, and as such should be counted. Objections were made that slaves were not represented in the Legislatures of South Carolina and other States and, in

consequence, ought not to be represented in the National Legislature; that they were regarded in those States merely as property, and as such should not be represented. At this point there was grave danger that the work of the Convention would fail. Finally, a proposition was introduced to the effect that slaves were to be represented as "other persons," three-fifths of whom were to be counted. Another clause was inserted for the purpose of reconciling the non-slaveholding States: that "direct taxes should be apportioned in the same manner as representatives."

Article 1, section 2, clause 3.

The third great compromise.

Eastern members representing the commercial States wished the National Government to have the right to regulate foreign and interstate commerce. This was resisted by some of the delegates from the South. Leading men from the Middle States and from Virginia and Maryland were opposed to the further importation of slaves. The other Southern States were determined to continue this traffic. Finally, a compromise was agreed upon which gave Congress power over commerce, but forbade any act which might prohibit the importation of slaves prior to 1808. It was agreed also that a tax of ten dollars each might be laid on all slaves imported. While the Constitution may be said to be made up of a series of compromises, these three settled, for the time, the questions which were most vital and rendered the further work of the Convention possible.

Article I, section 8, clause 3.

Article I, section 9, clause 1.

Form of government.

The Constitution divided power among three practically independent departments of government; the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. In place of the single house of the Confederation there was to be formed a legislative body consisting of two houses. Experience had proved that a strong executive power was necessary to enforce the laws. It was finally agreed to entrust this power to a single person, the President. Hamilton characterized the lack of a judiciary, under the Confederation, as the crowning defect of that Government. The conviction that the Federal Judiciary should constitute one of the three

parts of the Government was general in the Convention, and after a brief discussion provision was made for it.

Signers of the Constitution.

On September 17, the final draft of the Constitution was submitted to the delegates for their signatures. George Mason, Edmund Randolph, and Elbridge Gerry refused to sign. Thirteen members were absent, but only four of these, including Luther Martin, were absolutely opposed to the Constitution. The other thirty-nine members, representing twelve States, affixed their names to the document and the Convention adjourned. While the last signatures were being written, Franklin said to those standing near him, as he called attention to a sun blazoned on the back of the President's chair; "I have often and often in the course of the session and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Supreme authority of the Government established.

The Federal Government, according to the Constitution, was no longer, as under the Articles of Confederation, to be the agent of or to be dependent upon the States. Its laws were to be *imperative*, not *advisory* merely, and were to operate upon *persons* and not *States*. Certain significant powers were bestowed upon the National Government such as the right to tax; to regulate commerce; to make war and peace; to support an army and navy; and to coin money. The peculiarity of the new Government lies in the division of powers between State and National authorities. The National Government was to exercise certain powers enumerated in the Constitution. All other powers not prohibited by the Constitution to the States were to be reserved to the States or to the people. "When a particular power is found to belong to the States, they are entitled to the same complete independence in its exercise as is the National Government in wielding its own authority. Each within its sphere has sovereign powers."*

* Cooley, Principles of Constitutional Law, 34.

Origin of the Constitution.

Fortunately, there was little that was absolutely new in the nature of the proposed Government. English principles of government were of influence but the main features were derived from the constitutions of the several States. These, in turn, had been adopted from the colonial governments. Many of the delegates to the convention had helped in the framing of the State constitutions, and all were familiar with their practical working. Thus, "the Convention was led astray by no theories of what might be good, but clave closely to what experience had demonstrated to be good."

Features of State Constitutions followed by the Convention.

There was a legislature, with two houses, in eleven of the States and the terms, Senate and House of Representatives, were commonly used. The Constitution of Delaware provided for the election of one-third of the Senators every two years. Connecticut furnished the example for equal representation of the States in the Senate and for proportional representation in the House of Representatives. The powers of the President resemble closely those granted the governors. Some of the delegates were familiar also with other provisions of the State constitutions, such as: bills for raising revenue must originate in the House; the process of impeachment; the veto power and governor's message, and language of the first ten amendments. It has been said: "The process of electing the President is almost the only feature not a natural growth."

Ratification of the Constitution.

The Constitution was submitted to Congress September 20. It was to go into effect between the ratifying States when accepted by conventions of delegates in nine States. The period included between September 28, 1787, when Congress, without a favorable word of comment, transmitted the Constitution to the legislatures and June 21, 1788, the date of its ratification by the requisite number of State conventions, was one of the most critical in our history.

Delegates to conventions were elected in all of the States, except Rhode Island. In all the conventions the Constitution was violently assailed by its foes. Those who supported it called themselves *Federalists,* and those who opposed it were known as *Anti-Federalists.* In general, the men who

opposed the Constitution represented the views of constituents who lived away from the great trade centers. This rural population, chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits, was frequently a debtor class, and desired that the States be left free to issue a depreciated paper money. The landed aristocracy of New York opposed the Constitution. A tax on their lands would be necessary if the State were to be deprived of the duties collected at their chief port. It was opposed by the Kentucky and Tennessee districts whose connection with the Atlantic coast was but slight. Supporters and opponents of the Constitution.

On the other hand, its advocates were men from the commercial centers or those who represented the great river valley regions, such as the Connecticut, Delaware, Shenandoah, and Ohio, and other highways of trade. The Tories favored the Constitution because it seemed to offer them greater protection.

Among the leaders in the State conventions, who defended ably the views of the opposition were Richard Henry Lee, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, and Patrick Henry. It was urged that the President would become a despot, the House of Representatives a corporate tyrant, and the Senate an oligarchy; that equality of representation in the Senate was an injustice to the large States; and that there was no Bill of Rights protecting the liberties of the people against encroachment by the National Government. Newspaper letters, tracts, and pamphlets appeared in large numbers denouncing the Constitution as dangerous. Arguments against ratification.

The views of the Federalists were well presented in a letter written by Washington to Patrick Henry, in which he said: "I wish the Constitution which is offered had been more perfect; but it is the best which could be obtained at this time, and a door is open for amendments hereafter. The political concerns of this country are suspended by a thread. The Convention has been looked up to by the reflecting part of the community with a solicitude which is hardly to be conceived, and if nothing had been agreed

on by that body, anarchy would soon have ensued, the seeds being deeply sown in every soil."

"The Federalist."

In the New York newspapers a series of political essays appeared for many weeks bearing the title "The Federalist." They presented the case for the Constitution with such logic that even now they are considered the best commentary on that document ever written. Hamilton instituted the plan and probably wrote fifty-one of the essays, Madison wrote twenty-nine, and Jay five.

The States ratify.

December 6, 1787, the Delaware convention ratified the Constitution without a dissenting vote. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut quickly followed. Much depended on the action of the Massachusetts convention. The leading opponent of the Constitution in this State was Samuel Adams. A letter from Washington, which was published in a Boston newspaper, had much to do in bringing about ratification by the convention. The sentiment was similar to that presented in the letter to Patrick Henry. The delegates finally accepted the proposition that amendments might be made which would take the place of a Bill of Rights and ratified the Constitution with the vote of 187 to 168. Maryland and South Carolina, after a heated contest, adopted the Constitution. The ninth State was finally secured through the ratification by New Hampshire (June 21, 1788). Before this news was known in the South, Virginia had ratified on the 25th of June. Here both parties had notable leaders. "What right," exclaimed Patrick Henry, "had they to say, We the people? . . . Who authorized them to speak the language of We the people, instead of, We the States?" He was seconded in his opposition by Mason and Richard Henry Lee. But the influence of Washington, Marshall, and Madison finally triumphed, and Virginia ratified with a vote of eighty-nine in favor and seventy-nine opposed.

When the New York convention assembled, some two-thirds of the members, under the able leadership of Governor Clinton, were opposed to the Constitution. Ham-

ilton was untiring in his efforts to secure the ratification by this State and to his influence was largely due the favorable action in the close vote of thirty to twenty-seven.

A second convention was called in North Carolina and, November 21, 1789, that State voted to adopt the Constitution. Rhode Island, in May of the following year, after Congress had threatened to cut her off from the privileges of trade, also declared in favor of the Constitution.

First steps in organizing the new Government.

When nine States had ratified the Constitution, Congress passed a resolution for putting the new Government into operation. Presidential electors were to be chosen on the first Wednesday in January, 1789. They were to cast their votes for President on the first Wednesday in February. The new Government was to go into operation on the first Wednesday of March which happened that year to be the fourth of the month. So slowly did the members of Congress assemble that the House of Representatives was not organized until the first of April and the Senate five days later. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found, as had been expected, that Washington was unanimously chosen President. John Adams was elected Vice-President, having received thirty-four votes, the next highest number.*

THE NATION IN 1789

Area and population.

It is somewhat difficult for us to picture to ourselves the nation for which the new government was to be organized. The area of the United States was 828,000 square miles, according to the census of 1790, the population was 3,929,000. Of these, about one-fifth were negroes, mostly slaves. Virginia ranked first in population, having 747,610 inhabitants. Five per cent. of the total number of people were west of the Alleghanies, Kentucky having a population of 74,000 in 1790 and Tennessee 35,000.

*There were sixty-nine electoral votes in all. Besides John Adams, nine other men received votes. Among them were John Hancock and Samuel Adams.

Cities. There were no large cities. The most important were Philadelphia with a population of 42,500; New York, with 33,000; Boston, with 18,000; Charleston, with 16,000 and Baltimore with 13,500. The streets of the cities were narrow and were poorly paved when paved at all. There were no sewers, and no attention was paid to proper sanitary conditions. Diseases of the worst sort were prevalent. The scourge of yellow fever infested the cities almost yearly.

Distribution of Population in 1790

Classes and customs. Among the official and aristocratic classes there was much social display. The style and the fashion of the English gentry were still copied. The homes of the rich were noted for their spacious rooms and elaborate furnishings, but the comforts of to-day were mostly lacking. Drinking of spirituous liquors and gambling were common among all classes. Duelling and lotteries were in vogue; many public improvements and a number of academies and colleges were assisted by money received from lotteries.

Farmers usually made their own wooden ploughs and wagons, cut the grain with a scythe, and threshed it with a

flail. Most of the clothing of the family was homespun. The fireplace supplied the lack of a stove, and light was furnished by the tallow candle. Wonderful changes have taken place in the lives of day-laborers since that time. Wages were, in purchasing power, less than one-half the wages of to-day. The necessities of life were costly, the mechanic being scarcely able to supply the coarsest food and clothing for his family and keep out of debt.

Occupations.

Nine-tenths of the people were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Wheat was the leading crop and was grown chiefly in Connecticut, the Middle States, and Virginia. These States also produced corn. Hemp and flax were cultivated in nearly all of the States; the Southern States produced tobacco, rice, and indigo. Cattle, sheep and hogs were raised in all of the States. Fishing was carried on extensively in New England. Manufacturing, with the exception of ship-building, was of little importance. American navigators were familiar with all seas. Besides an extensive European and West Indian trade, that with the north-west coast of America, because of the furs and peltries, was becoming important. In 1789 some forty-five vessels went from the port of Boston alone to this coast and to India and China.

Imports and exports.

The value of the imports was slightly less than that of the exports, which amounted to about twenty million dollars in a single year. Besides tea, having a value of one-seventh of the articles imported, the leading imports were manufactured articles, sugar, salt, coffee, nails, and distilled spirits. There were sent out of the country, in 1789, 369,000 barrels of flour from Pennsylvania alone. Other chief articles of export were lumber, rice, wheat, beef, pork, fish, and pitch.

Brissot de Warville, New Travels (1788), I, 268.

A French traveller wrote of the enterprise of American sailors: "You see their flag everywhere displayed; you see them exploring all islands, studying their wants, and returning to supply them. A sloop from Albany of sixty tons and eleven men had the courage to go to China. The Chinese, on seeing her arrive, took her for the cutter of some large vessel and asked, where was the great

ship? We are the great ship; answered they to the Chinese, stupefied at their hardiness."

Means of communication.

From a month to seven weeks and even three months were required to cross the Atlantic. Domestic trade was limited because of the lack of good roads and bridges. Boats and sailing packets were common on the rivers and the coast. Stage-coaches were used between the larger towns. To make the journey from Boston to New York required six days. Mails were ordinarily carried on horseback. Postmen carried the mail from New York to Philadelphia five times each week, and required two days to make the journey.

District schools.

The intellectual life of the people developed slowly. District schools were common in New England, where school was "kept" for two months in winter by a man and two months in summer by a woman. The boys usually attended in winter and the girls in summer. The teacher received a small amount of money for his services and "boarded round." Pupils were given a limited amount of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Text-books.

Text-books were few until after the Revolution. Noah Webster's *American Spelling Book*, which appeared in 1785, was really the first of our modern texts. The author indicated his purpose in the preface, as follows: "To diffuse an uniformity and purity of language in America, to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in trifling differences of dialect and produce reciprocal ridicule, to promote the interests of literature and harmony in the United States is the most earnest wish of the author." *A New and Complete Arithmetic Composed for the Citizens of the United States*, which appeared in 1788, was the first arithmetic produced by an American. The author, Nicolas Pike, devoted the greater part of the book to arithmetic proper and the remainder to plane geometry, algebra, trigonometry, and conic sections.

Town schools.

Few schools were to be found in the country districts outside New England. In the towns it was the custom for pupils to remain with a single teacher through the sixth reader, when they were admitted to the grammar school. Here they were taught the classics. Grammar schools

were generally supported by fees. Girls did not usually continue their education beyond the grammar school. Daughters of the well-to-do families completed their training by learning to do fine needle-work or to play on the spinet or the harpsichord. There were no public high schools. Private tutors were frequently employed in wealthy families. Night schools had been established in some of the cities.

Higher education.

The need for higher secondary education led to the founding of endowed academies by individuals, by towns, or by grants of land from the State. The first incorporated academy was founded in Philadelphia in 1758 through the efforts of Franklin. Academies increased rapidly in numbers, and by 1800 over one hundred had been established in different sections of the country. Among the most noted were Phillips Academy at Andover, chartered in 1780, and Phillips Academy at Exeter, founded about the same time. Nine years was regarded as the proper age for pupils to enter the academy. Discipline in all secondary schools was strict, and the rod ordinarily was the only "aid" in teaching. Courses of study in the better academies were classical, in preparation for entering college.

There were graduated from the colleges of the country, in 1789, about one hundred and seventy men. Instruction in the colleges was confined chiefly to Latin, Greek, mathematics and logic. North Carolina established the first State university in 1795.

The first medical school, afterward a department of the University of Pennsylvania, was founded at Philadelphia in 1765. King's College and Harvard had also provided for instruction in medicine. But the majority of young men who desired an education in medicine were accustomed to become apprenticed to some city practitioner.

Young men were accustomed to study law in the office of a leading lawyer. The first law school was established at Litchfield, Conn., in 1784.

A chair of divinity existed in most of the colleges. No

definite organization was given, however, to courses leading to a preparation for the ministry. The first theological school in the country was established in 1784, in New York City, by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Literature. English influence on thought grew weaker and French influence stronger after the Revolution. Few of the men who were to create a real National literature were born Washington Irving was but a lad of six years, and James Fenimore Cooper was born in 1789. In 1787, Joel Barlow published "The Vision of Columbus," a lengthy, prosy production in verse. Philip Freneau was the real lyric poet of the time. But Benjamin Franklin was the eighteenth-century author of greatest distinction. Besides the two works by which he is best known, "Poor Richard's Almanac" and his Autobiography, he had won a notable reputation by his state papers, scientific discussions, and lectures. Americans excelled in political literature. The state papers of Washington, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison, are models of their kind.

James Otis, Patrick Henry, Fisher Ames, and several other men of the time have always been given high rank as orators.

The Pennsylvania Packet, founded in 1784, was the first daily newspaper. In 1785, the first daily evening paper, *The Philadelphia Gazette*, was established. Newspapers were printed on poor paper. There were no editorials. They were made up chiefly of clippings from other papers, a summary of news from London or Paris, lengthy contributions on political questions, and advertisements.

Scientific societies and art. Scientific societies in America had their beginning in "The American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge," which met at Philadelphia. It was incorporated in 1786. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston was founded the same year, and, in 1791, the Massachusetts Historical Association.

John Copley, Benjamin West, and Gilbert Stuart were

three Americans who gained reputations as painters in England. They preferred to live there because of the poor support given artists in America. Stuart, who received $100 for his portrait of Washington once said: "A grocer will make more by buying a cargo of molasses in a day than my labor can bring me in a year."

Hospitals and prisons.

In America, as in other countries of the world at the close of the eighteenth century, there was little responsibility felt for the care of dependent classes. Hospitals for the sick existed in only a few cities. Insane persons were confined in cells underneath the ground floor and were treated with great brutality. Prisoners, of all degrees of crime, were herded together in dark, loathsome dungeons, and their lives, through inhuman treatment, were made as miserable as possible. The crime of debt brought more people to jail than any other.

Right to vote and hold office.

A small property qualification or payment of a certain amount of taxes was required of voters in a majority of the States. While freedom in religious belief had become general, in a number of the States only Protestants might hold office. But the Federal Constitution did not recognize religious belief as a qualification for office-holding, and the States soon followed this example.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. The attitude of Congress toward the calling of a Convention at Philadelphia. Fiske, Critical Period, 217–222. Schouler, History of the United States, I, 34–39.

2. Problems connected with the appointment of delegates in some of the States. McMaster, History, I, 390–399. Members of the Convention. Hart, Contemporaries, III, No. 63.

3. The influence of certain men in the Convention. McMaster, History, I, 418–423. Fiske, Critical Period, 224–229. Walker, Making of the Nation, 23–27.

4. The "Compromises" of the Constitution. Read Article II, Section 8, Clause 3 and Section 9, Clause 1. Madison, Am. St. Series, chap. 8. McLaughlin, The Confederation and the Constitution, 221–235.

5. The Constitution in the Virginia convention. Patrick Henry, Am. St. Series, chap. 18. Schouler, History, I, 70–75. Fiske, Critical Period, 334–336.

6. Attitude of the New York convention and why was New York a pivotal State. Hamilton, Am. St. Series, 68–82. Bancroft, History of the United States, VI, 455–460. Schouler, History, I, 66–67 (old ed.); 77–78 (new ed.). Fiske, Critical Period, 340–345. McLaughlin, The Confederation and the Constitution, 308–312.

7. Objections to the Constitution in North Carolina. Hart, Contemporaries, III, No. 75.

8. What would have been the status of North Carolina and Rhode Island if they had refused to ratify? Walker, Making the Nation, 73–75. Hart, Formation, 132–133.

9. Compare the original method of nominating the President with that of to-day. James and Sanford, Government in State and Nation, 216–219.

10. The first Presidential election and inauguration of the new Government. Fiske, Critical Period, 346–350. Schouler, History, I, 74–86 (old ed.); 79–90 (new ed.).

11. The nation in 1789; education, literature, religion, etc. McMaster, History, II, 1–24; 57–66. Scudder, Men and Manners in America One Hundred Years Ago. Earle, Stage-Coach and Tavern Days.

12. Extent of American and foreign shipping engaged in the commerce of the United States in 1789. Is the showing for this country as favorable now? Why? Coman, Industrial History, 131, 132.

13. Would you favor the restrictions on suffrage of 1789? Of to-day? Fiske, Critical Period, 69, 70. Government in State and Nation, 43, 44, 125, 126.

14. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chapter 13.

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT
THE FEDERALISTS IN CONTROL

Inauguration of Washington.

WASHINGTON set out for New York April 16. He wrote in his diary of that day: "About 10 o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." Well might he hesitate to assume the burdens of the office to which he had been elected. The Government must prove itself acceptable to the people, and under the guidance of a less able leader, it must have failed. The confidence of the people in Washington was expressed in the homage shown him at all stages of his journey. April 30, on the balcony of Federal Hall, in New York City, the oath of office was administered. Washington then read his inaugural address in the presence of Congress assembled in the Senate Chamber. At the conclusion of the address, the assemblage went to St. Paul's chapel, where prayers were offered. Formal addresses were presented to the President by both Houses of Congress. This ceremony, discontinued when Jefferson became President, was in keeping with the other formalities of the time.

First legislation by Congress. The tariff. Article I, section 8, clause 1.

The Federal treasury was empty. Madison, on April 8, introduced a resolution into the House, based on the plan of 1783, for raising a national revenue. This led to the first tariff act (July 4, 1789). Members from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and the other States in which

manufactures were developing wanted protection for their industries. The act was slightly protective, but its chief object was to secure revenue for carrying on the Government. It provided specific duties on wines, teas, nails, salt, and twenty-eight other articles, and an *ad valorem* duty from five to fifteen per cent. on a few articles, as paper, leather, and tinware. The average of duties was about eight and one-half per cent. The amount of money collected from taxes on imports was not sufficient to carry on

Dollar of 1794.

the Government, and on the recommendation of Hamilton the rates were increased in 1790 and 1792.

Appropriations.

The appropriations by Congress for the first year's expenses amounted to $639,000. Washington, as during the Revolutionary War, desired to serve without salary. It was agreed, however, that the President should receive $25,000 and the Vice-President $5,000 annually.

Executive departments organized, Article II, section 2, clause 1.

It was taken for granted by the Constitutional Convention that executive departments would be formed. Three departments were created: the Department of State, then called Foreign Affairs, the Department of War, and the Treasury Department. Provision was made for the office of Attorney-General, although this office was not, for many years, considered an executive department. The former Post-Office was continued, and it was made a

department in 1794. Through the appointment by Washington and confirmation by the Senate, Thomas Jefferson was made Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of Treasury; Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General.

Although not authorized by the Constitution, Washington early began the custom of calling these four men together from time to time to confer with him on public questions. Later Presidents have preserved this practice of calling their Cabinets into conference. While the President is not obliged to take the advice of his Cabinet, their views have usually great weight with him.

Organization of the Judiciary, Article III, section 1, clause 1.

By an act of September 24, 1789, Congress proceeded to organize the Federal Judiciary as outlined in the Constitution. This act provided that the Supreme Court should consist of a Chief Justice and five associate justices. Four Circuit Courts and thirteen District Courts were also created, and their functions as inferior courts were defined. John Jay, of New York, a man of sterling character and strong convictions was appointed Chief Justice. Regular Circuit Court judges were not then provided for.

First ten amendments to the Constitution.

The first Congress was called upon to consider some three hundred propositions to amend the Constitution. Of these, more than one-third were submitted by the States at the time of ratification. Twelve amendments finally received the requisite two-thirds votes of both Houses of Congress. Ten became a part of the Constitution in 1791, having been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. These ten amendments have been called "The Bill of Rights"; for they provide, in general, for the preservation (against encroachment by the National Government) upon such rights as the freedom of religion, and of speech, and that over private property, rights which had been enumerated in the "Bills of Rights" of the State constitutions.

Eleventh Amendment

The Constitution provides (Article III, Section II, Clause 1) that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to controversies between a State and citizens of another State, and between

a State and the citizens or subjects of a foreign State. These provisions were intended doubtless to apply only to suits in which a State should attempt, as plaintiff, to secure justice in a Federal Court. But, contrary to expectation, suits were early brought *against* some of the States by citizens of other States. In the notable case of *Chisholm vs. the State of Georgia* (in 1793), Chisholm, a citizen of North Carolina, began action against the State of Georgia in the Supreme Court of the United States. That Court interpreted the clause as applying to cases in which a State is defendant, as well as to those in which it is plaintiff. The decision was received with disfavor by the States, and Congress proposed the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified in 1798 and reads as follows: "*The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.*"

Alexander Hamilton and the establishment of National credit.

When Alexander Hamilton, at the age of thirty-two, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, he had already acquired a notable reputation as a writer on the problems of government and as a lawyer. Although fully aware of the difficulties to be met, he did not hesitate in accepting the burdens of the office at the meager salary of $3,500 a year. Shortly after his appointment, Congress requested Hamilton to prepare a report on the public credit. This led to the formation of his financial policy. The carrying out of his recommendations placed the National credit on a solid foundation.

The public debt.

Hamilton showed that the National indebtedness was about $54,000,000, including principal and arrears of interest. Of this sum, $12,000,000 was owed in Europe, chiefly to the French Government. In his first report on the public credit (1790), he proposed that these obligations against the Government should be paid in full While there was no objection made to paying the foreign debt, a heated debate took place, in Congress, over the proposition to pay the remainder, or "domestic debt." These certificates of indebtedness had depreciated so much that they were worth only about one-fifth of their face value. Speculators had been buying the certificates, and it was

argued that they and not the original owners would profit by the measure. But Hamilton insisted that the credit of the Government could be established only by redeeming its promises to pay at full face value. Hamilton's plan triumphed, and a bill was passed by Congress providing for the payment of both the foreign and domestic debts.

Alexander Hamilton
From the painting by John Trumbull, 1792

Assumption of State debts and location of the Capital.

The proposal by Hamilton that the National Government should assume the unpaid debts of the individual States which had been incurred in support of the Revolution, met with bitter protest. The total of these debts finally fixed upon was $21,000,000. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina had the largest debts. With the exception of South Carolina, the Southern States had already paid off the greater part of their debts and were opposed to the plan. New England and the Middle States with the exception of Pennsylvania, favored assumption. The Representatives from North Carolina now appeared in Congress in time to defeat the measure in the House.

Hamilton saw in the discussion over the permanent location of the Capital the opportunity to save his plan for assumption. The choice had narrowed down to a site on the Delaware River in Pennsylvania, or to one on the Potomac. Finally, a bargain was agreed upon in which

Hamilton offered to secure enough Northern votes for the Potomac site, providing Jefferson would get Virginia votes to carry the assumption of the State debts. Both measures were carried. For ten years, the Capital was to be at Philadelphia and then to be located in a district ten miles square on the Potomac at some spot to be selected by Washington.

The excise.

Some means must be found to pay the debts. Hamilton proposed, in a second report on the public credit, presented at the close of the year 1790, an increase in the import duties on distilled liquors and also an excise upon spirituous liquors distilled in the United States. An excise, to be laid by the National Government, was especially objectionable to many. It was regarded in the same light as the stamp duties before the Revolution. It tended, they thought, to give too great powers of taxation to the Federal Government. In spite of great opposition, the measure was passed. One member suggested that it would be like "drinking down the National debt."

The United States Bank.

The plan for a United States Bank, advocated in a special report (December 13, 1790), is even more noteworthy. Hamilton had recommended such an institution to Robert Morris during the Revolution. He now urged that a bank would become the means of increasing the circulating medium, and at the same time give a safe and uniform currency to the country, through the issue of bank-notes; and that the Government would be able to borrow money and carry on other financial affairs through the bank with greater facility. Besides, the men who might subscribe for the stock would thus become interested in the Government.

Article I, section 8, clause 18.

Madison, as the leader of a strong minority party in the House of Representatives, asserted that Congress did not possess the power of establishing such a corporation, since it was not "*expressly*" granted by the Constitution. Hamilton maintained that the power was *implied* in that clause which authorizes Congress "to make all laws

which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers . . . vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States." The bill, which finally passed both Houses of Congress, provided for the incorporation of a bank for twenty years with a capital of $10,000,000. The Government might subscribe for an amount not exceeding $2,000,000. Payment for a large amount of the stock was to be made in Government bonds. The bank was to be used as a place of deposit for Government funds and to aid it in borrowing, collecting, and paying out money.

Strict and loose construction.

Because of the objections to the measure, Washington, before signing the bill, referred it to his Cabinet for their written opinions on its constitutionality. The replies submitted by Jefferson and Hamilton are noteworthy. They set forth definitely the two opposing views on the interpretation of the Constitution which have so often been contended for in the course of our history. Jefferson argued, as Madison had done, that the incorporation of a bank would be unconstitutional and that a bank was neither a "necessary" nor a "proper" agent "for carrying into execution" the "enumerated powers" of the Constitution. He stood for what is called the doctrine of "strict" construction. Hamilton, in his answer, held that all convenient "means" might be employed by the Government which were "required in the execution" of powers granted by the Constitution. He argued that the creation of a bank was constitutional since it was related to the powers of collecting taxes and borrowing money. Thus he declared in favor of the "broad" construction of the Constitution. Washington, after some hesitation, signed the bill. The Bank was established in Philadelphia with branches in New York, Baltimore, and six other cities.

Article I, section 8, clauses 1, 2.

This doctrine of the *implied* powers of the Constitution was in turn to be adopted by the Supreme Court and stated in the famous decisions of John Marshall. James Bryce has well said: "The interpretation which has thus stretched the Constitution

Bryce, American Commonwealth, I, 390.

to cover powers once undreamt of may be deemed a dangerous resource. But it must be remembered that even the constitutions we call rigid must make their choice between being bent or being broken. The Americans have more than once bent their Constitution in order that they might not be forced to break it."

The mint.

Congress, on Hamilton's recommendation, also passed an act for the establishment of a mint. The free coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio of 15 to 1 was adopted, *i. e.*, the weight of pure metal in a silver dollar was fifteen times as much as the pure metal in a gold dollar.

Report on manufactures.

At the close of the year 1791, Hamilton made the most elaborate of his reports, that on manufactures. The arguments for the protection of American industries, through a tax on imports, stands to-day as one of the best presentations ever made in behalf of the protective system. The act of 1792, which provided for a slight increase in duties, followed, in the main, his suggestions.

Rise of political parties.

As we have seen, two parties developed over the ratification of the Constitution. After the inauguration of the new Government, the Anti-Federalists as a party disappeared. But the adoption of Hamilton's financial plans was the chief cause for the formation of two well-organized political parties. Hamilton favored a strong central Government. The policy of loose construction which he advocated would deprive the State governments of many powers. Many persons then, as to-day, viewed with alarm this growing authority of the central Government and Jefferson declared that the Government was drifting toward a monarchy. He believed that Hamilton was building up a monarchical party by giving to certain members of Congress, which the Secretary of State called the "corrupt squadron," financial privileges in return for their support. In the ceremonial connected with the sittings of the Supreme Court, and in the secret sessions of the Senate, Jefferson and his adherents saw also the death of Republican institutions.

These followers of Jefferson, chief among whom was

Madison, were soon organized, and called themselves the Republican Party. They were called by their enemies "Democratic." They insisted on the strict interpretation of the Constitution, and were most numerous in the agricultural States. Those who favored the views of Hamilton clung to the name "Federalist" for their party. They were chiefly in the commercial States. Another notable difference between the party views grew out of the attitude of the two leaders toward the people. Hamilton had

Republicans and federalists.

The Home of George Washington at Mount Vernon

little confidence in the ability of the mass of the people to govern, and held that government should be in the hands of the educated and property-owning classes. Jefferson believed in the common people and in their capacity for self-government. He had no fears of such uprisings as that led by Shays, and declared with regard to it: "Whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose and set them right."

From the sessions of the Cabinet, where, as Jefferson said, he and Hamilton were arrayed against each other like "two cocks in a pit," the contest passed to the newspapers. Jefferson and Hamilton became personal enemies. Although the attacks on Hamilton were largely ill-founded, it is fortunate that a party was then brought into existence which held, as its leading principle, belief in the people.

Washington re-elected, 1792.

As the time for the second Presidential election approached, Washington, who had grown weary of the attacks on his administration, would gladly have retired to the quiet of Mount Vernon. Urged by the leaders of both parties, he again allowed his name to be used and was unanimously reëlected. The contest between the parties came in the choice of a Vice-President. John Adams, the Federalist candidate, was reëlected, having received the votes of seventy-seven electors. Fifty electors voted for George Clinton of the Republican party. The Republicans, however, succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the House of Representatives. The Senate remained under the control of the Federalists.

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4. Organization of the Federal Judiciary. Walker, Making of the Nation, 97, 98. Hart, Formation, 145, 146. Government in State and Nation, 261–263.

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CHAPTER XV

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1793–1801

The French Revolution and America.

PARTY contests became more embittered because of the relation of the United States to European affairs after the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. For a quarter of a century foreign relations were to constitute a leading feature in our history. France, as we have seen (p. 168), aided America in gaining independence. The news of the proclamation of the French Republic (September 22, 1792), and the execution of King Louis XVI (January 21, 1793), were enthusiastically received in America. This feeling of joy was heightened when it was learned early in April, 1793, that France had also declared war against England.

Proclamation of Neutrality, 1793.

By the terms of the treaty of 1778, France expected the United States to defend the French West India Islands against attack and to grant France certain privileges in our ports not granted other nations. Appreciating that the very existence of the nation might depend on keeping out of the struggle, Washington determined that the United States should pursue an impartial course toward both England and France. His Proclamation of Neutrality was issued, therefore, on April 22, 1793. It is classed to-day as one of the most important documents of the period. The United States was thenceforth to keep clear of European entanglements.

Genet

Its enforcement was difficult because of the actions of Genet, the French Minister, who came to Charleston two weeks before the Proclamation was issued. Counting on

American sympathy and aid for France, he fitted out four privateers, which captured a number of English vessels. After ten days he set out for Philadelphia. Ovations were given him on the way and in that city. Democratic clubs were formed, modelled after those in Paris. Angered at his treatment by Washington, who insisted on the principle of neutrality, Genet threatened an appeal to the people. Disregarding the request of Jefferson and his own promise not to do so, he fitted out a captured vessel and sent it to sea. His recall was requested by Washington. The party by which he was appointed had fallen, and the French Government, then in the hands of the more radical Robespierre faction, sent Fauchet as his successor.

French plans in the West.

The secret plans of Genet relative to the West were of no less moment. Because of the closing of the Mississippi by Spain (p. 192), and the seeming disregard of their interests by the Government, there was general discontent among the men of the West. Genet was secretly instructed, by his Government, to make use of this disaffection and enlist men to conquer, for France, Louisiana, the Floridas, and Canada. Before leaving Charleston, he arranged for an expedition against Florida and similar plans for the capture of New Orleans and Louisiana were set on foot by him at Philadelphia. These plots were revived by Fauchet and by Adet, the successors of Genet.

Difficulties with Great Britain.

The non-enforcement of the terms of the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States was still under discussion by both nations. In June, 1793, Great Britain ordered the seizure of neutral vessels carrying provisions to French ports. The French Government had already passed a similar decree relative to the ports of Great Britain. This policy, which struck so heavily at American shipping, was based on the doubtful claim that "provisions were contraband of war." Upon the outbreak of hostilities, France threw open her ports in the West Indies to trade with neutral ships. According to the "rule of 1756," by which Great Britain did not consider herself bound, trade which was forbidden a neutral in time of peace could not be allowed that nation in time of war.

Great Britain, however, proceeded to enforce this rule against American trade with the French colonies. Some three hundred American vessels were seized and brought into British West Indian ports, by March 7, 1794, and their passengers and seamen were brutally treated.

With even greater arrogance, Great Britain claimed the right to stop and search American ships for seamen of British birth in order to *impress* them into her navy. Upon the theory, "once an Englishman always an Englishman," sailors, English by birth, but who had become naturalized Americans were impressed. Even sailors born in the United States were seized. With the feeling excited by these acts, war seemed inevitable. Congress, in March, 1794, voted an embargo for thirty days on shipping in the ports of the United States. It was renewed for a month and bills were passed providing for the fortification of some of the harbors and for increasing the navy.

Jay's treaty, 1795.

But in spite of the clamor for war, Washington determined, if possible, to avert it. He selected John Jay, then Chief Justice, as Envoy Extraordinary to open negotiations with Great Britain for the execution of the treaty of 1783 and for making a treaty of commerce. After four months of negotiation, in London, between Lord Grenville and Jay a treaty was drawn up (November 19, 1794). According to its terms, the British Government agreed to evacuate the posts by June, 1796. Joint commissions were to settle the amount of the claims growing out of the non-payment of debts due British subjects and the seizure of American ships.* A general commercial treaty was agreed upon—an advantage to our merchants and ship-owners.

Nothing was said about an indemnity for the loss of the negroes and no mention was made of impressment. The British Government refused to yield its position on

* Three million dollars was agreed upon by treaty (1802) as the amount due British subjects. A commission of five, in 1804, settled on $11,000,000 as the amount due American claimants for the capture of their ships.

neutral trade. The treaty passed the Senate with the exact number of votes necessary to make the required two-thirds. The whole country was aroused when the terms became known. In many cities Jay was burned in effigy and Hamilton, while defending the treaty, was stoned at a public meeting in New York City. The British flag was dragged through the streets at Charleston and burned before the door of the British Consul. A violent debate ensued in the House of Representatives over the bill providing for the money needed to execute the terms of the treaty. Finally, the House, by a vote of 51 to 48, passed the appropriation bill. The terms of the treaty were doubtless the best which could be secured at that time. Rejection would have meant an almost certain war, a war which would have crippled the nation. The opening of the Mississippi by Spain and the settlement of the Indian troubles of the West were intimately connected also with the acceptance of the Jay treaty.

Treaty with Spain, 1795.

Fearing the alienation of the West because of the long standing troubles with Spain (p. 192), Thomas Pinckney, in 1794, was sent to Spain for the purpose of making a new treaty. Knowing of the relations about to be established by the parties to the Jay treaty, Spain thought it desirable to win the friendship of the United States. On October 27, 1795, a treaty was signed by which America gained all that was asked: the free navigation of the Mississippi; the right to deposit goods at New Orleans;* and the parallel of 31° as the Florida boundary line.

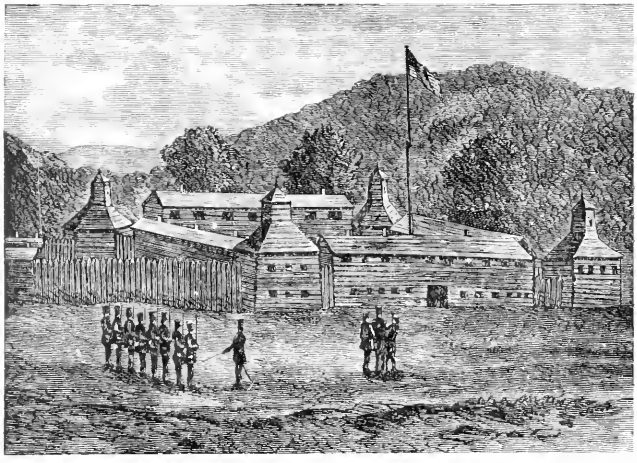
Indian troubles in the Northwest.

The advance of settlers into the territory ceded by the treaty of 1783 was resisted by the Indians and attacks upon the outlying settlements were frequent.† American officers who made offers of peace were answered by some of the

* A place of deposit was necessary in order that goods brought down the Mississippi on river boats might be transferred to ocean-going vessels.

† The early settlements in Ohio were noted on pages 190, 191. Three other settlements were made on the Muskingum in 1790.

chiefs of the North-western tribes: "The English commandant at Detroit is our father and we cannot answer without consulting him." The enormities of the savages becoming more frequent, the Government, in 1790 sent a force against them led by General Harmar. Under the



Fort Washington (Cincinnati)

leadership of the famous Chief, "Little Turtle," the Indians were victorious. An expedition the following year under General St. Clair met a like fate.

The command was then entrusted to General Anthony Wayne. Setting out from Fort Washington (Cincinnati), he reached the rapids of the Maumee in August, 1794. There the desperate battle of "Fallen Timbers" was fought in which the Indians were utterly defeated. In the treaty at Greenville the next year, they agreed to surrender their claims to the greater part of the present Ohio. With the promise of security, settlers began at once to go into this territory in ever-increasing numbers

Meantime, hatred by the inhabitants of the Western communities, especially of Pennsylvania, for the excise law, gave rise to serious disturbances. Because of inadequate facilities for transportation, Western men, in order to get their produce to market most readily, reduced the grain to whiskey. Their opposition to the tax on distilled spirits finally led to open rebellion in 1794. Collectors of revenue were driven from their homes, mails were seized, and the United States Marshal was fired upon. About 6,000 men assembled at "Braddock's Field" and marched through the streets of Pittsburg to frighten the inhabitants. Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania did nothing, and Washington determined to enforce the law. He called out 13,000 militia. This army, commanded by Governor Henry Lee of Virginia, marched across the mountains to the scene of the uprising, but met with no resistance, for the leaders had fled. The prompt suppression of this insurrection served to demonstrate that the National Government had become powerful enough to enforce its laws.

Whiskey insurrection, 1794.

Wayne's Campaign and Treaty of Greenville

Declining to be a candidate for a third term, Washington, in a masterly state paper (September 17, 1796), made an appeal for the highest standards for the nation. He urged a "cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment" to national union. Americans were to observe good faith and justice toward all nations and keep "clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Washington's Farewell Address.

Public opinion, he wrote, should be "enlightened" and public credit "cherished."

John Adams elected President, 1796.

John Adams and Thomas Pinckney were selected as the candidates of the Federalists for President and Vice-President. The Republicans gave their support to Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Of the 132 electoral votes, Adams received 71 and was elected President, and Jefferson received 68, the next highest number, and was elected Vice-President.

John Adams
From a copy by Jane Stuart, about 1874, of a painting by her father, Gilbert Stuart, about 1800—in the possession of Henry Adams

John Adams.

John Adams had already served his country ably and with honor. He was prominent as a leader in Massachusetts in bringing on the Revolution; was a member of both Continental congresses, became Minister to France and then to Holland; in 1785 was made Minister to England; and was twice Vice-President. Always upright in his relations with his associates, he failed, at times, because of lack of tact, jealousy of his rivals, and dislike of advice. He soon found that he had made a mistake in retaining Washington's Cabinet, for they were under the control of Hamilton, who was his enemy. Out of touch with his Cabinet, Adams was early called upon to adjust the troubles with France, which had become serious.

The negotiation and ratification of the Jay treaty by the United States was considered by France a grave offence. Because of the sacrifice of the principle that "free ships make free goods" and of the privileges secured to France by the treaty of 1778, that nation now declared its alliance with the United States at an end. American shipping was subjected to still greater injury by French war vessels, and the French minister to this country was recalled. Meantime, Washington determined to send Charles C. Pinckney to take the place of James Monroe as Minister to France.* Unfriendly acts of France.

The Directory, piqued at the attitude of the United States and exalted by the victories of Napoleon in Italy, not only refused to receive Pinckney, but ordered him to leave France. News of this insult reached America shortly after the inauguration of President Adams. In his message to Congress, called in special session, he asserted that the world should be convinced that "we are not a degraded people . . . fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence and regardless of national honor, character and influence." He was determined, if possible, to prevent war. A commission, consisting of C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, was appointed to make another effort to negotiate.

Upon their arrival in Paris, they were refused official recognition by the French Government and instead, they were waited upon by three secret agents sent by Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. These men, called in the dispatches to the American Government Messrs. "X, Y, and Z," demanded $250,000 for the Directors and Ministers as the price of an audience. Said X: "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point; it is money; it is expected you will offer money." "No, no, no; not a sixpence" was the reply. The attempt to carry on a sep- The "X, YZ" affair.

* Washington thought that Monroe had not pushed the claims against the French Government, for depredations upon American commerce, with enough vigor.

arate negotiation with Gerry, who was a Republican was also a failure. The President, April 3, 1798, laid the X, Y, Z dispatches before Congress. The effect produced was magical. War measures were quickly passed in both Houses of Congress. An army was organized and Washington was given the command. New vessels were added to the navy, and the Navy Department was organized. Treaties between the two nations were declared to be at an end.

War with France imminent.

President Adams now notified Congress that he would "never send another Minister to France without assurances that he would be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." Public opinion generally sanctioned the measures of Congress. The stirring words of "Hail Columbia," one of the numerous songs composed at the time, seemed best to express the patriotic fervor of the people. On February 9, 1799, the *Constellation*, under Captain Truxton, after a hard fight, captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente*. This and other engagements reflected great credit upon the infant navy.

Peaceful relations restored.

Talleyrand hastened to say in a message to William Vans Murray, American Minister to the Netherlands, that France was now ready to receive an envoy from the United States with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation. President Adams seized this opportunity to establish peaceable relations and appointed a commission consisting of Oliver Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William Vans Murray, to go to Paris. Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, also appointed a Commission of three, and September 30, 1800 a treaty was concluded. Napoleon agreed to regard the terms of the treaty of 1778 as no longer binding, and the United States relinquished all claims to indemnity. The President regarded this as his greatest service to the nation. Years later he declared that he desired no other epitaph than: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself

the responsibility of peace with France in the year 1800."

Alien and Sedition laws.

While foreign affairs were demanding attention, party spirit continued to grow more bitter. The President and the Government were openly denounced. Among the Republicans were certain foreigners, thought to be French agents, who were extreme in their abuse. In 1798, Congress, under Federalist control, passed four laws by which it was hoped to repress these attacks. (1) By the Naturalization Act, the time of residence necessary to become a citizen was raised from five to fourteen years (repealed in 1802). (2) The Alien Acts authorized the President to expel from the United States all aliens whom he should deem dangerous. (3) The Sedition Act provided for the punishment by fine and imprisonment of any person who should by writing or speaking bring the Government, either House of Congress, or the President, into disrepute. The Alien Acts were to be in force only two years, and the Sedition Act less than three years. There was not a single case under the Alien Acts and only ten persons were convicted of sedition.

Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

The Alien and Sedition laws were denounced by the Republicans for they saw in them the means for a more complete centralization of power in the National Government. Influenced by Jefferson, the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia (1798) each passed a series of resolutions condemning the Alien and Sedition Acts as "unconstitutional, void, and of no force," and asserting the right and duty of the States to interpose and "arrest the progress of the evil." The more moderate Virginia resolutions were prepared by Madison. Jefferson was the author of the Kentucky resolutions. The legislatures of the other States refused to sanction these resolutions.

The Legislature of Kentucky (1799) passed a still stronger set of resolutions declaring the States to be sovereign and independent, and "that a nullification by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color

of that instrument [the Constitution] is the rightful remedy."*

Reasons for lack of Federalist popularity.

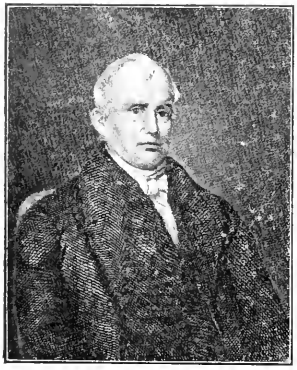
The Federalist party lost many of its adherents because of the Alien and Sedition laws. Their policy was brought into disfavor also on account of increased taxation and especially the direct taxes made necessary in preparing for war. After the death of Washington (1799), there was no leader strong enough to preserve harmony in the party. There were dissensions within the Cabinet. Three members looked for advice to Hamilton, party rival to the President. Two of them were compelled to resign. Leading Federalists protested also against the President's method of dealing with France. This factional strife increased after the renomination of Adams for the Presidency. Charles C. Pinckney was the Federalist candidate for Vice-President. Hamilton became more bitter in his opposition, and on the eve of the election, wrote a pamphlet in which he severely criticised the political career of President Adams. This ill-advised attack strengthened the Republican cause.

Presidential Election of 1800

*It is notable that *nullification* by a single State is not sanctioned Madison denied this doctrine. But the sectionalists of New England (1814), South Carolina (1832), and those who favored secession (1861) claimed support in these resolutions.

Jefferson was again the candidate of that party for President. His principles of freedom of speech, opposition to standing armies and to centralized government had become more popular. Aaron Burr, an unprincipled politician of New York, who controlled the votes of that State was nominated for Vice-President. Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three electoral votes and Adams sixty-five. According to the Constitution (Article II, Section I, Clause 2), the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. When voting by States, as was required, the Federalists had a majority in the House. Many of them, in their dislike for Jefferson, determined to elect Burr. On the thirty-sixth ballot, however, Jefferson received the votes of ten States out of sixteen and was elected.

Jefferson elected President, 1800.



Samuel Slater

In order to prevent the repetition of such a contest, the Twelfth Amendment was proposed by Congress, and after ratification by the States was declared in force (1804). This provides that the electors shall cast separate ballots for President and for Vice-President.

Twelfth Amendment.

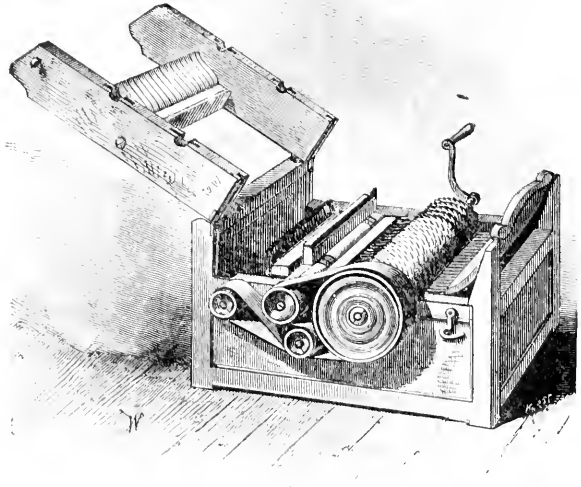
According to the census of 1800, the population of the United States was 5,308,000. About 2,200,000 of these were south of Mason and Dixon's line, and 2,700,000 north. There had been a rapid growth in the number of settlers west of the Alleghanies. Kentucky had a population of 229,000; Tennessee, 106,000; Ohio, 45,000; Indiana, 4,875, and Illinois, 2,300. The centre of population had moved westward. In 1790, it was twenty-three miles east of Baltimore. Now it was eighteen miles west of that city. Three new States had been admitted into the

Population, 1800

Union: Vermont (1791); Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796).

Industrial advance, 1790–1800.

In general, it had been a period of prosperity. Trade and commerce had largely increased. It was during this decade that the factory system was introduced into the



Whitney's Cotton Gin
From the original model

United States. Spinning and weaving increased rapidly, in England after the invention of the *spinning jenny* by Hargreaves (1767); the *spinning frame* by Arkwright (1769); the *mule spinner* by Crompton (1784), and the *power loom* by Cartwright (1785). England intended that America was not to profit by these inventions, for an act of Parliament (1774) forbade the exportation of machines used in the cotton or linen manufactures. However, Samuel Slater, an Englishman, in 1790, set up at Paw-

tucket, Rhode Island, the first perfected machinery for spinning, of the English type, used in this country. Before coming to America, Slater had been an apprentice in a factory using such machinery and was able to construct it from memory.

The cotton-gin invented.

In 1793, Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, a machine for separating the seed from the cotton fibre. With its aid, a slave could clean fifty times as much cotton in a day as with the old machines or by hand. The production of cotton and the demand for slaves began to increase. Two hundred thousand pounds of cotton were exported in 1790. In 1800, nearly 20,000,000 pounds were sent out of the country.

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14. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 15.

CHAPTER XVI

DEMOCRACY AND EXPANSION, 1801–1811

Inauguration of Jefferson.

MARCH 4, 1801, accompanied by a few friends and an escort of militia, Jefferson walked across the square from his boarding-house to the unfinished capitol in order to take the oath of office as President of the United States. To his political opponents, the new President was a "violent Democrat" and "a vulgar demagogue." By his own party he was almost idolized. For many years he had been conspicuous in public affairs as member of the Continental Congress, Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, Secretary of State, and Vice-President. He now stood, he believed, as the representative of the people, against the monarchical tendencies of the Federalists. Jefferson, as President, abolished all forms and ceremonials. He was dignified and gentlemanly in manners, scholarly in tastes, and sympathetic with men irrespective of their advantages. In conversation with a friend, he said: "The whole of my life has been a war with my natural tastes, feelings and wishes. Domestic life and literary pursuits were my first and my latest inclinations; circumstances and not my desires lead me to the path I have trod."

Although a large land owner and slaveholder, he was opposed to slavery. He advocated the necessity of education for the people, and was the founder of the University of Virginia. Jefferson had confidence in the self-governing capacity of the people; preferred to manage men rather than command them, and, as we have seen, advocated the

strict construction of the Constitution. He was a poor public speaker, and began the custom of sending his messages to be read before Congress instead of delivering formal addresses as Washington and Adams had done.

Jefferson and the civil service.

In his inaugural address Jefferson had declared: "We are all Republicans. We are all Federalists!" He soon appreciated that the "revolution" which brought him into office was incomplete so long as the victorious party did not share in the appointive offices. Some of the office-holders, therefore, were removed and their places given to Republicans. In all, during eight years, Jefferson removed one hundred and nine civil officials, or about one-fourth the entire number then holding Presidential offices. President Adams is reported to have continued to appoint members of his party to office until nine o'clock of the last night of his administration. Jefferson was indignant over this, called by him, "indecent conduct" of Adams.

Thomas Jefferson, by Gilbert Stuart
The property of T Jefferson Coolidge

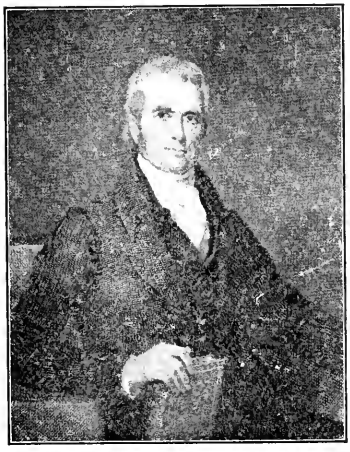
Repeal of Judiciary Act of 1801.

Some of these so-called "midnight appointments" were connected with the putting into force of the Judiciary Act of February 13, 1801. This law, although there was no real need for the extension of the judicial system, provided for the appointment of sixteen circuit judges and increased the number of marshals and district-attorneys. The Republican Congress repealed the act in 1802.*

* Special judges were not again appointed for the circuit courts until 1839

Jefferson withheld certain commissions to office which had been duly made out and signed in the closing hours of Adams's administration. William Marbury (1801) asked the Supreme Court for a writ to compel Madison, the Secretary of State, to deliver to him his commission to office. (In the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress had granted the Supreme Court the right to issue such an order.) This request was refused by the Supreme Court, however, on the ground that the Constitution did not give the Court this power. Chief Justice Marshall, in rendering this important decision, took the position that the Supreme Court might declare void an act of Congress deemed contrary to the Constitution.

Marbury vs. Madison.



John Marshall
From an engraving of the painting by Henry Inman

President Adams, in appointing John Marshall Chief Justice performed one of his greatest services for the nation. Marshall was at that time well known as a lawyer, soldier, legislator, and statesman. The notable decisions which he delivered during the thirty-four years he was Chief Justice distinguished him as the leading American jurist. His was the great task of construing for the first time the principles of the Constitution. So convincing was his logic that only once was the majority of the Court against him on a constitutional question.

John Marshall.

Because of the unusual expenses to the Government on account of Indian wars and the trouble with France, the National debt under the Federalists had increased some

Financial policy.

$6,000,000. Economy in public expense, reduction of the debt and of taxes were cardinal doctrines of the new administration. The thorough work of Albert Gallatin, as Secretary of the Treasury, enabled Jefferson to carry out his policy. For years Gallatin had been a student of finance, and, as a representative from Pennsylvania, was a leader in opposition to Hamilton's plans. Internal revenue taxes were repealed. The Government was dependent then for revenue upon customs duties and the sales of public lands. Reduction in expenditures was begun at once. "Peace is our passion," Jefferson had said. The army was greatly reduced in numbers, although an appropriation was allowed (1802) for the establishment of the Military Academy at West Point. The attack fell heaviest on the naval appropriation. The construction of new vessels was discontinued, and the number of vessels in commission was cut down. Could the President have carried out his plan, the remainder would have been brought into dock and "laid up dry and under cover of the sun." Notwithstanding the additional expenditures connected with the acquisition of Louisiana and growing out of the war with the Barbary Powers, the public debt was reduced from $80,000,000 in 1801 to $53,000,000 in 1810.

Cavalry Private, 1801

Louisiana ceded to France, 1800.

As we have seen, the King of France ceded to Spain, in 1763, that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River together with the Island of Orleans (on which New Orleans is situated) lying east of that river. To Great Britain was presented the strip of land, later called West Florida, along the Gulf from the Island of Orleans to

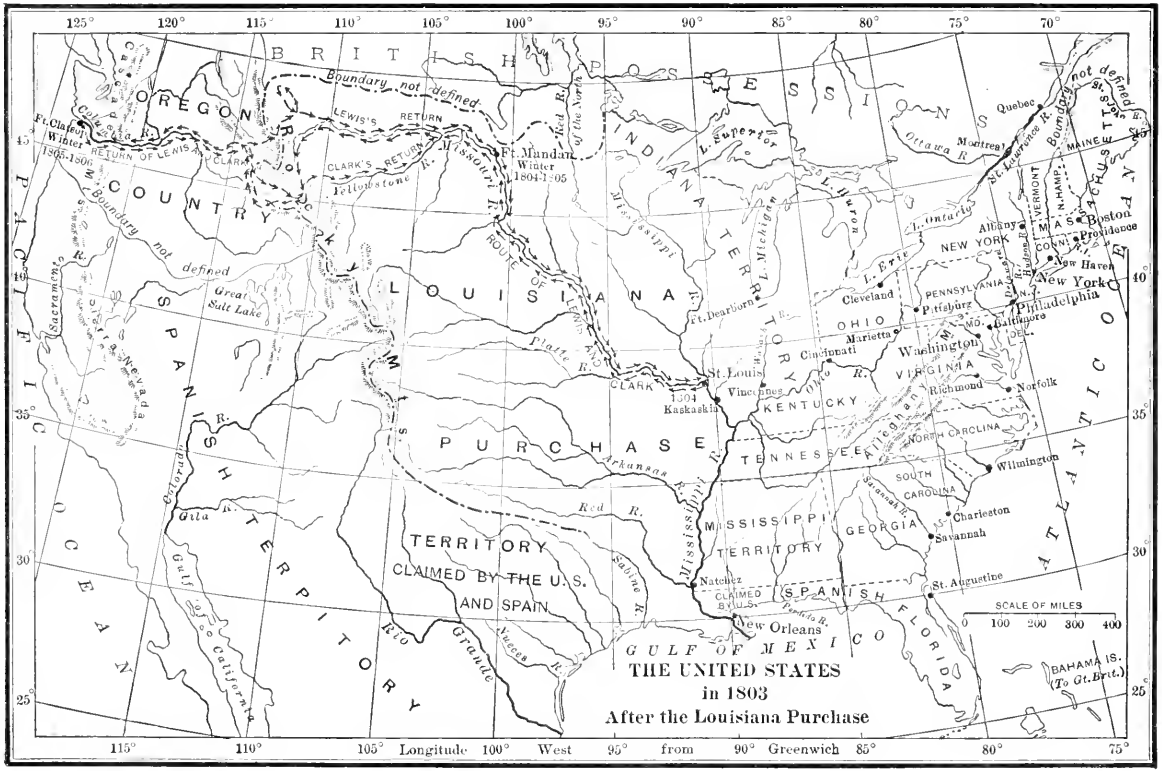
the Perdido River. At the close of the Revolution (1783), this territory was ceded by Great Britain to Spain. France wanted to regain colonial empire in America, and Napoleon Bonaparte, by the treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800, made a successful advance toward this goal. The King of Spain retroceded Louisiana to France, receiving in exchange the Italian kingdom of Tuscany for his son-in-law. The knowledge of this exchange excited great alarm among Americans, for France was then at the height of her power. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," wrote Jefferson to Robert R. Livingston, our Minister to France, "fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. . . . From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Purchase of Louisiana 1803.

The West became still more inflamed when it was learned in November, 1802, that the Spanish Governor had withdrawn the right of deposit at New Orleans. War against France and Spain was demanded by the Federalists. Jefferson now instructed Livingston to buy New Orleans and West Florida. In January, 1803, James Monroe was appointed special envoy to France to assist Livingston.

In order to carry out his plan of empire in America, Napoleon determined first to reconquer Santo Domingo.* The negro leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, with his native troops, resisted successfully the invasion of the large French army sent against them. Napoleon was disappointed at the outcome. Besides, in case of war with England, a war which was impending, he knew that Louisiana could not be held. Talleyrand, therefore, startled Livingston by asking him what the United States would pay for the whole of Louisiana. On the next day Monroe reached Paris. The ministers decided to go beyond the power of their instructions, and finally, on April 30, 1803, completed the treaty by which the United States secured

* The combined exports and imports of this island in 1789 amounted to $140,000,000. The plan was to crush the Revolution there, and then go on and take possession of Louisiana.


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
OREGON COUNTRY
Boundary not defined
LEWIS'S RETURN
CLARK'S RETURN
Ft. Clatsop Winter 1805-1806
RETURN OF LEWIS & CLARK
Columbia R.
Ft. Mandan Winter 1804-1805
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Red R. of the North
INDIAN TERRITORY
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Mississippi R.
ROUTE OF LEWIS & CLARK
Ft. Dearborn
LOUISIANA
Platte R.
Great Salt Lake
Sacramento R.
Sierra Nevada
Boundary not defined
SPANISH TERRITORY
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Gulf of California
PACIFIC OCEAN
PURCHASE
Arkansas R.
Red R.
TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE U.S. AND SPAIN
Rio Grande
Nueces R.
Saline R.
Natchez
CLAIMED BY U.S.
Tombigbee R.
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
SPANISH FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Quebec
Ottawa R.
Montreal
St. Laurence R.
Boundary not defined
MAINE
VERMONT
N. HAMP.
MASS.
Albany
Boston
Providence
CONN.
New Haven
NEW YORK
New York
Hudson R.
Cleveland
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
Baltimore
OHIO
Marietta
Cincinnati
Washington
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
St. Louis
1804 Kaskaskia
Vincennes
KENTUCKY
Alleghany R.
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
Wilmington
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Charleston
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
GEORGIA
Savannah
St. Augustine
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
BAHAMA IS. (To Gt. Brit.)
THE UNITED STATES in 1803
After the Louisiana Purchase
125° 120° 115° 110° 105° 100° 95° 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°
45° 40° 35° 30° 25°
115° 110° 105° Longitude 100° West 95° from 90° Greenwich 85° 80° 75°

New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. For this immense area, 1,172,931 square miles, there was to be paid $15,000,000. Of this sum, $3,750,000 was to go to satisfy the claims of Americans against France for spoliations committed on American commerce since 1800.

The transfer of Louisiana.

November 30, 1803, the Spanish Governor transferred Louisiana, with its population of some 50,000, one-half of whom were negro slaves to a French agent of Napoleon. Seventeen days later the United States was given formal possession. The following year the southern part of the territory was organized as the territory of Orleans.

Limits of Louisiana.

The boundaries of the purchase were not definitely defined. Livingston and Monroe asserted that the cession extended to the Perdido River, thus including West Florida, but Spain refused to withdraw from this territory. In 1810, President Madison annexed a part of this territory to the United States, and three years later the remainder of West Florida was occupied. It is probable that the Louisiana Purchase did not include West Florida, but did extend to the Rio Grande.

Significance of the acquisition.

"We have lived long," said Livingston, as he arose after signing the treaty, "but this is the noblest work of our lives." The purchase of Louisiana was one of the most important events in the history of the United States. Among the effects may be mentioned: (1) It doubled the area of the United States. (2) The contest of rival European powers for the possession of the valley of the Mississippi was ended. (3) It established an important precedent in the direction of the loose construction of the Constitution. (4) Thereafter, the United States was to expand steadily in the direction of a world power.

Strict construction and the purchase.

By the strict interpretation of the Constitution, there was no power given the Government to acquire territory. Jefferson advocated an amendment that would confirm the action, but haste was necessary, for Napoleon might change his mind. By ratifying the treaty, therefore, the doctrine of *implied* powers was adopted by the Republicans. The Federalists were bitter in their opposition; for they feared the future influence over legislation of the new States which were ultimately to be formed out of the territory.

Expedition of Lewis and Clark.

As early as 1783, Jefferson became interested in a project to discover a route across the Rocky Mountains from the Missouri River. In a secret message to Congress, January, 1803, he proposed that an expedition be sent to the Indians on the Missouri in order to secure their trade, then absorbed by English companies, and to extend the exploration "even to the Western Ocean." In pursuance of this object a party of thirty-five men under command of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark began the ascent of the Missouri River from St. Louis, May 14, 1804. With great difficulty, they reached, at the end of one hundred and seventy-three days travel, the region of the present Bismarck, North Dakota, having journeyed on an average nine miles a day. The winter was spent near the chief village of the Mandan Indians. Setting out the following spring they reached the source of the Missouri on the twelfth of August. Crossing the mountains, a perilous journey, to the Columbia, they descended that river in canoes. On November 7, 1805, Clark wrote: "Great joy in camp, we are in view of the ocian, this great Pacific Octean which we have been so long anxious to see." The entire continent had at last been crossed by American explorers, and the claim of the United States to Oregon was strengthened.* (Map, p. 246.)

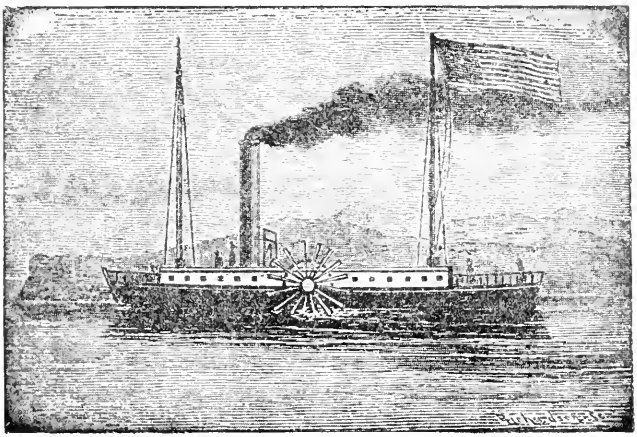
Exploration by Lieutenant Pike.

In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike was sent from St. Louis with a command of United States troops, to find the source of the Mississippi. Not succeeding in this, on his return to St. Louis he set out to explore the Arkansas and Red rivers. On the expedition, he discovered the mountain peak to which was given his name. Turning to the southward, after terrible suffering because of the snow and ice, they reached the Spanish settlement at Santa Fé (February 26, 1807). The return to the United States was made through Texas.

*In 1792, Captain Robert Gray of Boston had discovered, on the Pacific coast, the mouth of a large river which he called *The Columbia* after the name of his vessel.

Western settlement and travel were soon greatly accelerated through the use of the steamboat. A number of experiments by Americans, notably those of James Rumsey (1785) and John Fitch (1790), proved that boats could be driven by steam. But steam navigation was really not

Fulton's steamboat



Fulton's "Clermont," 1807

begun until Robert Fulton ran his steamboat, the *Clermont* from New York to Albany, 150 miles in 32 hours (August 11, 1807).

War with the Barbary Powers

The Barbary States of North Africa had, for generations, subsisted by preying upon Mediterranean commerce. Ships were captured and passengers and crews enslaved. To escape these depredations, the United States, like the European powers, was compelled to make costly presents in addition to paying a yearly tribute. Altogether, the Pasha of Tripoli, alone, received $83,000 annually from our Government. But he was not content, and as a sign of defiance, May 14, 1801, ordered the flagstaff of the American Consulate to be chopped down. Jefferson had already ordered a small fleet to the Mediterranean because of the insults of the Algerine pirates. Commodore Preble was sent with a stronger fleet in 1803, and the war was conducted with greater vigor. The Pasha was willing to come to terms (1805)

after the repeated bombardment of the city of Tripoli and the destruction of his vessels. He agreed not to ask for further tribute from the Americans. Two squadrons were sent against the Dey of Algiers at the close of the war of 1812 because of his attacks on American commerce during that war. Thoroughly frightened, he agreed that no tribute should ever again be asked by him from the United States. Other nations followed the example of the United States, and the Mediterranean was freed from these scourges.

Jefferson reëlected President.

The power of the Republicans had grown steadily. In the election of 1804, Jefferson and George Clinton were nominated by that party for President and Vice-President. They were triumphantly elected, each receiving 162 electoral votes, while their opponents, Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King, received only 14 each. For the first time the candidates had been nominated by the "Congressional Caucus."

Death of Alexander Hamilton.

Aaron Burr had sacrificed his influence in the Republican party by becoming a candidate for the Presidency in 1801. As an independent he strove to get the support of the Federalists in his attempt to be made governor of New York. It was largely due to Hamilton that he was defeated. Burr then challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him (July, 1804). Then only forty-seven years of age, Hamilton had acquired the honor of being classed among the greatest of the world's constructive statesmen. His death did much to place duelling under the ban in the Northern States.

Burr's conspiracy

Burr became an outcast. It is not certain what he dreamed of accomplishing in an undertaking which he entered upon (1805–1806). Did he hope, because of the discontent of Western settlers, to bring about the separation of the region west of the mountains from the Union, or was he planning to bring on a revolution in Mexico with the thought of making himself king? Sixty men were assembled for the expedition, and with arms and ammunition they set out for New Orleans from Blennerhassett's Island.* Reaching Natchez, Burr learned that General Wilkinson, commander of the United States troops in the Southwest,

* An island in the Ohio a short distance below Marietta. Blennerhassett was one of the conspirators

instead of coöperating with him, had betrayed the design to Jefferson. In disguise, Burr tried to escape to Spanish Florida. He was arrested and brought to trial for treason. But he was acquitted; for it was not proved that he had actually levied war against the United States. Thenceforth he lived in obscurity.

Great Britain and France and neutral trade.

The struggle between Great Britain and France, delayed for a year by the Peace of Amiens, was resumed in 1803. Up to that time, American commerce had expanded especially in carrying products of the French and Spanish West Indies. A way around the "Rule of 1756" (p. 227) was sanctioned by Great Britain. Cargoes from the West Indies might be carried to France or Spain providing they were first landed in some port of the United States and customs duties paid. But English ship-owners wanted the control of this trade and the British Government, in 1805, decreed that the rule of 1756 should be enforced literally. During that year Admiral Nelson, in the celebrated victory of Trafalgar, gave to Great Britain complete supremacy on the seas. Napoleon was supreme on the continent of Europe. Neutral trade was almost wholly in the hands of Americans. By attacking this trade, each of these antagonists hoped to give a telling blow to the other.

Napoleon inaugurated his "Continental system" by insisting that Prussia (1806) should declare all German ports closed to British vessels. Great Britain retaliated by declaring the coast blockaded from Brest to the Elbe, a distance of about eight hundred miles. Napoleon, in reply, issued the Berlin Decree (November, 1806), which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and forbade all trade in British goods. By Orders in Council in the year 1807, neutral vessels were forbidden to trade with any port in Europe from which the British flag was excluded, unless certain duties were first paid at some port of Great Britain. Napoleon issued the Milan Decree (December 17, 1807), which declared that any vessel might be seized which submitted to search by the British or en-

tered a port of that nation. Neither nation hesitated in asserting these "paper blockades"; that is, mere declarations without sufficient force to make them effective. Under their cover, American ships whenever found on the high seas were seized by the cruisers of both belligerents.*

Right of search and impressment.

Moreover, with the renewal of war (1803), Great Britain, with still greater arrogance, assumed the right to search American vessels for British seamen and to impress them into her service. British war-vessels even anchored just outside American ports; their brutal press-gangs boarded merchant vessels and captured and impressed American seamen. It is estimated that the number of seamen seized during these trying times exceeded 4,000.

Attack on the *Chesapeake.*

The climax occurred off Hampton Roads, June 22, 1807. The British frigate *Leopard* overhauled the American frigate *Chesapeake* and demanded the surrender of "certain deserters." The order being refused, the *Leopard* opened fire at short range and the *Chesapeake*, unprepared for action, was compelled to haul down her flag. Four "deserters" were taken, three of whom were American citizens. All America was aroused over this outrageous act, in which three Americans had been killed and a number wounded.

Policy of Jefferson.

But were these insults to pass unheeded? Urged to declare war, Jefferson, still clinging to his policy of peace and economy, ordered all British warships to quit the waters of the United States. Instead of ships of war, he now advocated the building of small gun-boats for defence of the coasts. They were each to carry one gun and be manned by from five to seven men. By 1807, over one hundred and fifty of these boats had been constructed, but the plan was a complete failure.

The period of the Jay treaty had expired, and in 1806 Monroe and William Pinckney were sent to London to conclude a new treaty. This they did, but the terms made

* Great Britain, in a single year, captured two hundred American vessels.

no provision for giving up the right of search and impressment. Jefferson refused even to submit the treaty to the Senate.

The embargo.

But American interests were suffering and upon the recommendation of the President an embargo act was hurriedly passed at the close of the year 1807 which prohibited the sailing of vessels from the United States to foreign ports. It was hoped that the belligerents would be driven to make terms when American products were cut off. The embargo proved injurious to the working classes of Great Britain, but that Government still adhered to its policy. Napoleon even claimed to be assisting Jefferson in carrying out his policy by ordering all American vessels in French ports to be confiscated. Southern planters, thus deprived of leading markets for their products, were many of them ruined. The effects were similar upon the commercial interests of the Middle and New England States. New England Federalists declared the act unconstitutional and threatened secession. More drastic supplementary acts were passed to prevent smuggling. As a fortunate outcome, manufacturing was greatly accelerated.

Non-intercourse Act, 1809.

It became clear that the embargo was a failure and must be repealed. For it was substituted the Non-intercourse Act, by which all commerce was forbidden with Great Britain, France, and their dependencies.

James Madison elected President, 1808.

Meantime, Jefferson, following the example of Washington, refused to become a candidate for a third term. James Madison and George Clinton, nominated for President and Vice-President by the Republicans, were elected by a large majority of electoral votes over Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King, the candidates of the Federalists. Madison had already acquired an enduring reputation through his influence in the Constitutional Convention as a leader of his party in Congress, and as Secretary of State. A statesman of great political ability, he lacked the qualities of a vigorous administrator so necessary in the

critical international relations of the time. Albert Gallatin was retained as Secretary of Treasury. In 1810, James Monroe was made Secretary of State.

New troubles with Great Britain.

It appeared for a time that Madison would be able to carry out his policy of peace. An agreement was reached with David M. Erskine, English Minister at Washington, whereby the Orders in Council were to be withdrawn, and Madison proclaimed the reopening of trade with Great Britain. But this action of Erskine was repudiated by his Government, and he was recalled. Non-intercourse was again declared in force. The new Minister from Great Britain, Francis J. Jackson, was an able exponent of the arrogant attitude of the Court he represented. President Madison, he declared, knew that Erskine was exceeding his authority. Jackson was informed that no more communications would be received from him, and he returned to England.

James Madison
From a painting by Gilbert Stuart. Property of T Jefferson Coolidge

Napoleon's duplicity.

For some time Napoleon had been enforcing one of the most outrageous of his decrees. Because of the Non-intercourse Act, he issued the *Rambouillet Decree*, which prescribed that every vessel bearing the American flag which had entered or should enter the ports of France after May 20, 1809, or the ports of any country under French control, should be seized and sold. Before it became known in the United States, vessels and cargoes were con-

fiscated which, when sold, poured some $10,000,000 into the French Treasury.

In the meantime, Congress (May 1, 1810), passed the "Macon Bill No. 2" which repealed the Non-intercourse Act. If either Great Britain or France should agree to stop its violations on neutral commerce, then intercourse between the United States and the other nation was to cease. Here was Napoleon's opportunity for deception which he believed would lead to the destruction of his enemy. A letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Armstrong, American Minister in Paris (August 5, 1810), announced that the Berlin and Milan decrees would cease to have effect after November 1st. It was stipulated that Great Britain was to revoke her Orders in Council or the United States should "cause their rights to be respected by the English." The letter also affirmed the love that Napoleon bore the Americans; and that their prosperity and their commerce were within the scope of his policy.

Napoleonism checked by John Quincy Adams. Memoirs, II, 88.

The breakdown of the Napoleonic system was hastened through the diplomatic ability of John Quincy Adams, American Minister at St. Petersburg. October 25, 1809, he was officially received by the Czar, Alexander I. Russia was then the ally of Napoleon. But Russia, compelled because of her own industrial condition to carry on foreign trade, seized this opportunity to break with the policy of Napoleon. Through the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adams asked the interposition of the Czar in behalf of American commerce in the Baltic then being ravaged by the agents of Napoleon, especially by Danish privateers. The Czar, to the astonishment of Adams, ordered the Danish Government to restore American property as speedily as possible. The "Emperor was gratified," Adams was informed, "at this opportunity of proving his friendly dispositions toward the United States." During the summer of 1810, the Czar refused to close Russian ports to American ships as Prussia and Denmark had done. His answer to Napoleon was in no uncertain terms. "I cannot," he declared, "as I have already told you, prohibit all commerce to my subjects with the Americans. . . . We must keep to these terms, for I declare to you, were war at our doors, in regard to commercial matters I cannot go further." On December 19, an Imperial *ukase* was issued which admitted American produce

and hundreds of American vessels entered Russian ports. Eight days afterward, Adams notified the American Government that Russia would resist Napoleon "to the last." In February following, military movements on both sides began.

On the verge of war with Great Britain.

Europe smiled incredulously at the promise made by Napoleon to rescind his decrees. Madison, however, accepted literally the statement made in the letter to Armstrong.* After a stormy session, Congress passed an act (March 2, 1811) which was approved by the President, again declaring non-intercourse in force against Great Britain.

Tecumseh

On May 16th of that year, the American frigate *President* was fired upon by the sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. The return fire quickly crippled the inferior British vessel. Americans were elated at the outcome for the *Chesapeake* affair was fresh in their minds. The offer made by the Government of Great Britain shortly afterward to make reparation for that attack, was accepted, but her attitude toward neutral rights remained unaltered.

* The decrees were not actually revoked until April 28, 1811. Napoleon himself gave licenses to trade with Great Britain during the period of the "Continental System."

For some years the Indians of the Western frontier had looked upon the advance of the white men with jealous eyes. Tecumseh and his brother, "the Prophet," Indians of unusual ability set about uniting the tribes of the entire frontier into one great confederacy which was to resist the further encroachments upon their hunting grounds. In October, 1811, Tecumseh was absent among the Southern Indians, arousing them to join the league which had already been formed among the Northern tribes. British traders had furnished them with arms and equipment. The settlers becoming alarmed, General William Henry Harrison, the Governor of Indiana Territory, collected troops and marched against the Indians. Near the "Prophet's Town" on Tippecanoe Creek where it flows into the Wabash, General Harrison was attacked (November 7, 1811). After the first surprise, the troops rallied, repulsed the Indians, and burned their town. The losses on both sides were heavy, the number of killed and wounded reported by General Harrison being one hundred and eighty-eight or about one-fourth of his command actually engaged. Tecumseh returned in December, but the expected attack did not follow, since he awaited directions from Canada.

Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Compare the election of President before 1800 with later process. Constitution, Article II, section 2, clause 1. Amendment XII. James and Sanford, Government in State and Nation, 222–227.

2. Civil Service during Jefferson's administration. Jefferson Am. St. Series, 194–200 (new ed.); 218–225 (old ed.). Hart, Formation, 179–180.

3. Cases in which the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction. Constitution, Article III, section 2, clause 2.

4. Gallatin's preparation and labors. Gallatin, Am. St. Series, chap. 6.

5. The Louisiana Purchase. Jefferson, Am. St. Series, chap,

14. Monroe, Am. St. Series, 75–91. McMaster, History, II. 620–635. Schouler, History, II, 40–50 (old ed.); 49–59 (new ed.). Walker, Making of the Nation, 179–184. Hart, Contemporaries, III, Nos. 111–114. Sparks, Expansion of the Am. People, 192–210. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 258–282. Hosmer, The Louisiana Purchase, chaps. 2, 3, 7. Hosmer, Short History of the Mississippi Valley, 118–127. Channing, The Jeffersonian System, 47–72.

6. Authority by which the United States acquired territory not possessed before 1789. Hart, Formation, 188. Walker, Making of the Nation, 182–184. Government in State and Nation, 276, 277.

7. Significance of the Louisiana Purchase. Review of Reviews, Vol. 27, 547–563; 568–584.

8. Lewis, Clark, and Pike. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, chap. 7. Hart. Contemporaries, III, No. 115. Channing, The Jeffersonian System, 86–99.

9. Importation of slaves prohibited. Article I, section 9, clause 1. Walker, Making of the Nation, 209–210. Government in State and Nation, 243, 244.

10. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 16.

11. Historical fiction. Cable, The Grandissimes (Louisiana) Cable, Strange True Stories of Louisiana. Edward Eggleston Roxy (Battle Tippecanoe).

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

New men control Congress.

Of the members who assembled in the extra session of Congress (November 4, 1811), the presence of a large number of new men was notable. They came chiefly from the States of the South and the West. The influence of these men of a "younger generation" was to be dominant in public affairs for over a third of a century. Aggressive by nature, ambitious, self-reliant, and intensely American, they were ready to defend the Nation against humiliation and insult.

Henry Clay elected Speaker.

This new spirit was manifest in the election of Henry Clay of Kentucky as Speaker of the House. He was the embodiment of the energy characteristic of the West—a section which already, as expressed in Clay's own words, "looked to the conquest of Canada and the dictation of peace at Quebec or Halifax." At that time, thirty-four years of age, he had been a leader in the Legislature of his State. He had been sent on two occasions to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, where he had won a place by his power of argumentation and fiery eloquence. From the Speaker's chair and on the floor of the House, Clay wielded a dominating influence over legislation.

Declaration of war against Great Britain

The war party was given control of the chief committees. John C. Calhoun, then thirty years of age, who was serving his first term as Representative from South Carolina, was placed on the Committee on Foreign Relations, and soon began to direct its policy. In his speech on the first report of this Committee, he showed that force and assurance

characteristic of all his efforts. The resolutions submitted (November 29, 1811) indicated clearly what the policy of the "war-hawks," as John Randolph called them, was to be. It recommended: that the army should be increased; that the navy be put into condition for immediate service; and that merchant vessels be allowed to arm in self-defence. Reluctantly President Madison was forced to modify his peaceful attitude and to sign the act declaring war against Great Britain (June 18, 1812). On June 23, that Government revoked the Orders in Council. Even had this action been known in America, it is probable that *impressment* would have been regarded as adequate cause to go on with the struggle.

Infantry Private, 1810

Among the leading causes for war mentioned by the President were: (1) The impressment of seamen; (2) the violation of the rights of commerce by British cruisers in American waters; (3) "the mock blockades" of the Orders in Council; and (4) attacks of the savages incited by British traders.

Madison reëlected President.

A month previous to this time, Madison had been nominated for a second term. It was declared, without adequate evidence, that he agreed to sanction war as a condition of his renomination. He received 128 electoral votes as against 89 for De Witt Clinton, the nominee of the "Peace Party."

Strength of the belligerents.

America was wholly unprepared to engage in such a conflict, although it was seen to be approaching for years. The regular army was composed of only 6,700 men led by officers who had grown old in the service or by those with little experience. Dependence upon volunteers and militia was necessary. The British army was composed largely of veterans under able leaders. Besides, Great Britain controlled the ocean with a navy con-

sisting of 994 vessels of war, over 200 of them larger than any in the American navy, which contained only 16 effective vessels and 165 gun-boats. In contrast with the army, American naval officers were equal to the best of their opponents, and the crews were, man for man, superior to those of Great Britain.

Financial conditions

It was with difficulty that the necessary money for the war, which cost $30,000,000 each year, was raised. The customs revenue upon which the Government depended began immediately to decrease, and in 1812 amounted to only $9,000,000. The plans resorted to, among others, to raise money, were double duties on imports, double postage, direct and excise taxes. Loans were made with difficulty, bonds were sold much below their face value, and $37,000,000 in treasury notes were issued. Great Britain at that time was raising, by taxation, $350,000,000 annually.

Plans for the invasion of Canada.

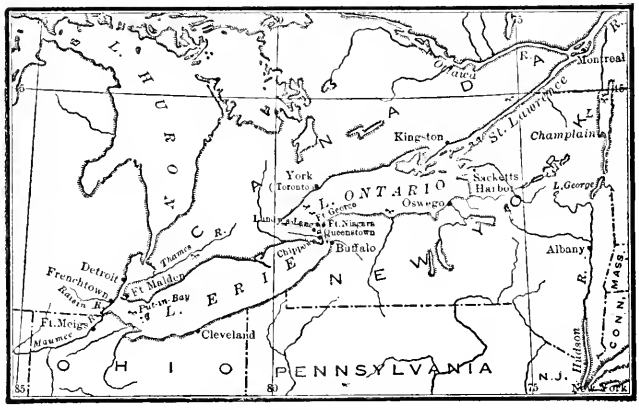
Regardless of the lack of preparation due to a miserly economy, and in spite of the general incompetency of governmental officials to direct a war, the conflict was entered upon with a surprising air of self-confidence. This spirit was voiced by Calhoun, who declared that within four weeks most of Canada would be in the possession of Americans.

Three armies were brought together on the Canadian frontier. One was to defend Detroit, the key to the fur-trade and the control of the Indians of the North-west. Another was to cross the Niagara River and, reënforced from the army at Detroit, was to capture York (now Toronto) and advance to Montreal. There they were to be met by the third army, advancing from Lake Champlain, and the combined forces, after the capture of Montreal, were to take Quebec.

War in the North-west.

With 2,000 men, General William Hull toiled over the miserable roads through the forests from the Maumee River to Detroit, and then crossed to Canada in order to take Fort Malden. He delayed the attack, however, and thus allowed the assembling of a larger force of British

and Indians. Learning that Fort Mackinac had fallen and that his lines of communication were broken, he retired to Detroit. Followed by General Brock with a force of 1,300, including 600 Indians, Hull retired within the fort and immediately surrendered (August 16, 1812). Thus, Michigan territory—the little garrison at Fort



War on the Northern Frontier

Dearborn* having been massacred by the Indians—passed to the control of the British.

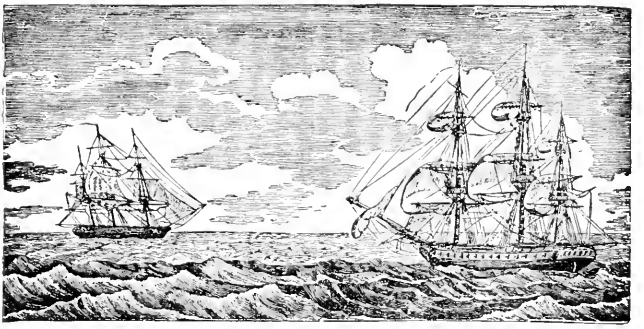
After this ill-fated event, General William Henry Harrison was put in charge of the American forces on the Maumee River for the defence of Ohio. Early the next year a detachment of 600 Kentucky troops defended Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, from an attack by the Indians, but were compelled to surrender to a superior force of the British. Barely able to hold his line of defence, it was evident that Harrison could not recapture Detroit unless the English naval control over Lake Erie was overcome. There was at the time no American squadron on the lake.

* Chicago now occupies the site of this Fort.

After the capture of Detroit, General Brock hurried to the defence of the Niagara frontier. During October, 600 Americans crossed the river at Queenstown, but were not reënforced, and were compelled to surrender. General Brock was killed. A second attempt to cross the river was likewise a failure. **The Niagara frontier, 1812.**

Nothing was accomplished by the third army; but the gloom caused by these defeats on land was partly dispelled by the brilliant victories of American commanders at sea. **The Champlain region.**

The first of these naval duels took place off the coast of Nova Scotia, between the American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, and the *Guerrière*, **Battles on the ocean, 1812–1813.**



The Constitution and Guerrière

under Captain Dacres. Within a half hour after the firing of the first gun, the masts of the English vessel were shot away, and she was otherwise so disabled that she could not be brought into port. Although the *Constitution* was a faster and a stronger vessel with heavier guns, the victory was due chiefly to the superior marksmanship of American gunners. Americans were exultant; for it was clear that the "Mistress of the Seas" was not invincible. During October, the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*,

in a short action, about five hundred miles east of Chesapeake Bay, overcame the brig *Frolic*, but both vessels were in such a disabled condition that they were taken possession of by a British war-vessel. Among other victories which heightened the pride of Americans in their small navy were the capture of the frigate *Macedonia*, off the coast of North Africa, by the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur (October 25); the destruction, north-east of Rio Janeiro, of the frigate *Java* by the *Constitution* under Commodore Bainbridge (December 29); and the sinking of the *Peacock* by the *Hornet*, near the north-east coast of South America (February 24, 1813).

At the beginning of the year 1813, Great Britain made the blockade of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays more effective, and by the end of the year had extended it to the other ports on the Atlantic. The best American vessels were thus bottled up for the remainder of the war. Two other events occurred on the coast deserving of mention. The American frigate *Chesapeake*, commanded by Captain Lawrence, engaged in battle with the *Shannon* outside Boston harbor. The *Chesapeake*, with a crew composed mostly of green men, was ill-fitted for the contest, and within a few minutes was disabled. The last order of Captain Lawrence, who was mortally wounded: "Don't give up the ship," was unavailing, and the colors were soon hauled down (June 1, 1813). During a year and a half, the frigate *Essex*, under Captain David Porter, cruised in the South Atlantic and the Pacific, capturing British whaling vessels until destroyed, in order to prevent capture, in the harbor of Valparaiso, Chili (February, 1814)

The British were astounded at these defeats by an enemy that they held in contempt. Besides, in two hundred single ship battles with the vessels of other nations that had been fought during the previous twenty years, Great Britain had lost only five ships by capture. Her officers and crews were overconfident and training had been relaxed. The Americans, we are told, had become expert gunners

through constant target practice, while the British, with but few exceptions, engaged in this drill but once a year.*

Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September, 1813.

Returning to the lake frontier, we find that the American squadron on Lake Ontario had accomplished nothing. The fate of the North-west rested on the efforts of Commodore Oliver H. Perry, who was put in command on Lake Erie. With great labor, he completed the construction of a fleet of nine vessels, with which he was forced to meet the attack of a similarly constructed but inferior fleet, under Captain Barclay, off Put-in Bay (September 10, 1813). The outcome was expressed in Perry's well-known message to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours, two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop." The advantage was quickly followed up, and the American army in the West, aided by the fleet, appeared at Detroit. General Harrison pursued the retreating British and defeated them in the Battle of the Thames (October 5, 1813). Tecumseh was killed, and the allegiance of the Indians to the British cause was broken. Michigan territory was again controlled by the Americans.

The Niagara frontier, 1814.

Meantime, General Dearborn had captured York, and some of the soldiers, unauthorized, burned the Parliament House. The Americans were forced to retreat to the New York side and lost Fort Niagara. During the summer of 1814, because of the downfall of Napoleon, the British armies in America were greatly strengthened by the addition of veteran soldiers withdrawn from European fields. More competent officers, however, were now in command of the Americans, and the partial victories at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane were due to the efficient leadership of General Jacob Brown and Lieutenant Winfield Scott. Later, they were forced to withdraw across the Niagara

* The superiority of the *Shannon* over the *Chesapeake* was due to the discipline and training to which Captain Broke, contrary to orders, had for a long period subjected his men. Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 180.

River. While nothing was accomplished on this frontier, a decisive action took place in September, on Lake Champlain, which added much credit to the American name.

Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, September, 1814.

General Prevost, with 12,000 regulars, planned to invade New York by the old Burgoyne route. Instead of attacking the American army, consisting of 2,000 men, at Plattsburg, he awaited the coöperation of the British squadron. After a hard-fought contest, in the bay, the victory of the American squadron under Captain Macdonough was so complete that Prevost retreated to Canada, and the war in that section was ended.

Attack on Washington, August, 1814, and Baltimore, September, 1814.

Earlier in the year, Admiral Cochrane, in charge of the coast fleet, ordered the destruction of American property and towns in "retaliation" for the acts of our soldiers at York and other places. The entire Eastern coast was harried, and General Ross was sent to capture Washington. He encountered little resistance, and the Capitol, the White House, and many other public buildings were plundered and burned. Two weeks afterward, Baltimore was attacked, but the Americans maintained their defence. General Ross was killed, and the bombardment of Fort McHenry also proving a failure, the British withdrew from the Chesapeake.*

American privateers.

Although American foreign trade was cut off by the blockade, terrific blows were struck at the commerce of Great Britain by privateersmen. Americans in this way made their otherwise idle ships sources of profit. Over 500 of these armed ships scoured the seas, capturing merchantmen even on the coast of Great Britain. Because of these depredations, insurance rates on English vessels were made excessive, and public meetings of tradesmen and ship-owners demanded the termination of the war. Before the news reached Washington that peace had been concluded, the Battle of New Orleans was fought.

* During the bombardment, Francis Scott Key, prisoner for the time on a British vessel, composed *The Star Spangled Banner.*

To General Edward Pakenham, one of Wellington's ablest lieutenants, with an army of 10,000 veterans, supported by a fleet of fifty vessels, was entrusted the capture of New Orleans. Andrew Jackson, having overcome the Creek Indians in Alabama, at Horse-shoe Bend, and in other battles, was put in command of the south-western district. With about 5,000 troops, mainly men from the West, he prepared to resist the British advance, and hurriedly threw up defences a short distance below the city. When the main assault was made, at daybreak, January 8, so effective was the fire of the Americans that the British were repulsed with a loss of 2,000, and General Pakenham was killed. The American loss was 71.

Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

Four days after the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, Napoleon renewed the conflict against Russia. At the time, Great Britain and Russia were in alliance, and it was unfortunate that America should have contributed to the support of Napoleonic despotism. In keeping with the friendly attitude of the Czar, Alexander I, toward the United States (see p. 255), and with a desire to secure the full support of his ally, he proposed Russian mediation between Great Britain and the United States. This proposal was immediately accepted by President Madison; and James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin were sent to St. Petersburg as associates with John Quincy Adams for such a negotiation. But Great Britain, having refused to negotiate except directly, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were added to the Commission for that purpose. After needless delay on the part of Great Britain, the joint Commission met at Ghent during the summer of 1814.

Peace preliminaries. Russian mediation.

The treaty finally agreed upon provided for the mutual restoration of all conquered territory and for commissions to settle the boundary disputes. The rights of citizens of the United States to fish on the shores of British America, which had been granted in the treaty of 1783 were not renewed, and this continued to be a source of disturbance until 1818. Our commissioners were obliged to waive the question of impressment, but with the coming of general peace in Europe Great Britain ceased this obnoxious practice.

Treaty of Ghent, 1814.

Opposition in New England.

Peace, even at a sacrifice, was at the time desirable; for there was danger that New England support would be entirely withdrawn. The declaration of war had been carried by members of Congress from the South and West in spite of the protests of the New England Representatives, who were ready to acquiesce in the attacks upon their commerce rather than risk its extinction.

The Hartford Convention, 1814–1815.

The Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to obey the requisition of the President for State militia. Subscriptions to the national loan in New England were meager in comparison with the financial ability of that section. The effects of the blockade and the war taxes increased this disaffection, and led to the calling at Hartford, in December, 1814, of a convention of delegates from these States in opposition to the war. Portions of the report of the Convention resemble closely the language of the Virginia Resolutions (1798). It was recommended that the States should adopt measures for preventing the execution of the acts of Congress relative to enlistment which were deemed contrary to the Constitution, the States themselves acting as judges, and executing their own decisions. The resolutions were not presented to Congress, peace having been announced. The Federalist party never recovered from the effects of this movement.

Results of the war.

The lives of 30,000 Americans were sacrificed during the war, and the national debt was increased over $100,000,000. Large amounts of public and private property were destroyed, and the general disarrangement of commerce and business burdened the entire country. On the other hand, local prejudice and selfishness were in large measure displaced by a spirit of national unity, aroused by the achievements of American soldiers and sailors, under the leadership of Jackson, Scott, Harrison, Macdonough, Perry, and a few other leaders. In the succeeding chapters we shall see that problems connected with national development had become the

absorbing themes in the place of European politics and entanglements, and that America had really achieved independence.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. The power of the Speaker over legislation. Government in State and Nation, 175–177.

2. Influence of "Young Republicans" in bringing on the war. Clay, Am. St. Series, I, ch. V. Schouler, II, 334–356. McMaster, III, 427–440. Babcock, The Rise of American Nationality, 50–63.

3. Calhoun and the declaration of war; his spirit of nationalism. Calhoun, Am. St. Series, 15–26.

4. Finances of the war of 1812. Gallatin, Am. St. Series, 207–237.

5. Define direct taxes. To what extent have they been used in the United States? Government in State and Nation, 167, 168.

6. How is the efficiency of the American navy accounted for? Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, 27–37.

7. Difficulties in creating a navy on the Great Lakes. Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, 221, 222; 254–258; 354.

8. In what way and for what reasons did the nations abandon privateering? Government in State and Nation, 200, 302.

9. Comparative losses of the contestants and causes for American successes? Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, 439–450.

10. Scenes in Washington during the war. McMaster, IV, 138–147.

11. Under what conditions may the militia be called into service? Was the attitude of some of the New England States justifiable? Government in State and Nation, 202, 203. Walker, Making of the Nation, 243, 244.

12. Opposition to the war. Walker, 240–243. Hart, Formation of the Union, 216–218.

13. The Battle of New Orleans. Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, 454–493. Hart, Contemporaries, III, No. 127. Jackson, Am. St. Series, 44–50 (new ed.); 38–44 (old ed.). Hosmer, A Short History of the Mississippi Valley, 147–153.

14. Treaty of Ghent and effects of the war. Hart, Contem-

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16. Historical fiction. James Fennimore Cooper, Miles Wallingford, and Two Admirals. George Cary Eggleston, The Big Brother. Irving Bacheller, D'ri and I. Joseph A. Altsheler, A Herald of the West. Clark Russell, An Ocean Free Lance.

CHAPTER XVIII

REORGANIZATION, WESTWARD MIGRATION, AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1815–1825

Tariff of 1816.

BECAUSE of the embargo, the non-intercourse act, and the war, the shipping of the country was greatly reduced. Much of the capital withdrawn from commerce found a profitable investment in manufactures. This tendency was strengthened somewhat by the slight protection given by the tariff measures enacted after 1789. That of 1812 doubled the duties on imported goods. Iron factories and mills for the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods multiplied rapidly. British manufacturers, desiring to regain control of American markets and stifle American manufactures, began, after the war, to pour their goods into the United States. During the fifteen months after peace was declared, the exports from Great Britain to this country amounted to $150,000,000. Prices were reduced and the stability of American industries was endangered. Influenced by the memorials from the manufacturing centres asking for relief, Congress passed the tariff act of 1816, which imposed a duty of about 25 per cent. on the importations of cotton and woollen goods, and specific duties on iron products. This was the first really protective tariff. Votes for the measure came chiefly from the Middle States and the West. It was favored also in sections of New England and the South, where it was

hoped manufactures would be established. Clay and Calhoun were earnest supporters of the bill. Jefferson declared at the time: "We must place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist." Webster, who represented the shipping interests of New England, opposed the bill.

Second United States Bank chartered, 1816.

Efforts to secure the re-charter of the first United States Bank, failed in 1811. Banks chartered by the States began at once to increase rapidly in numbers. Many of them had little or no capital, and were unable to redeem the notes that they forced into circulation. In 1814, nearly all banks outside New England suspended specie payments, and business was in confusion. Finally, on the recommendation of Alexander Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury, a bank bill was introduced into Congress, and, in spite of Federalist opposition, became a law. The new bank was chartered for twenty years. One-fifth of the capital of $35,000,000 was to be furnished by the National Government, and five of the twenty-five directors were to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. The main bank was located at Philadelphia, and branches were established in sixteen of the other leading cities. Normal financial conditions were not restored for a number of years.

The Crisis of 1819.

Confidence in the future prosperity of the country was general. Much of the currency, especially in the West and the South, consisted of notes issued by State banks. As a result of the excessive issues of currency, prices began to rise and speculation was encouraged. Extravagant prices were paid for land and farms were mortgaged. Manufacturers increased the size of their plants unduly. The use of luxuries spread. When the National Bank took action to force the State banks to redeem their notes in specie, a large part of these notes were seen to be valueless. The amount of currency was contracted from $110,000,000 in 1811 to $65,000,000 in 1819. Prices fell and thousands of business men were ruined. Laborers were out of employment and distress was general. This was the crisis of 1819. During the next few years the problems growing out of these conditions influenced the country profoundly.

WESTWARD MIGRATION AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1812–1825

Western movement prior to 1812.

Prior to the outbreak of the war, the movement of settlers across the mountains went on steadily. Cheap government land was a constant lodestone. It could be purchased, after 1800, in lots of one hundred and sixty acres at a minimum price of two dollars an acre, of which one-fourth might be paid in cash and the rest in instalments extending over four years. The frontier was pushed steadily on by the force of backwoodsman, pioneer farmer, and town builder.

The backwoodsman, with or without title to the land, advanced into the wilderness but when neighbors began to be too numerous, he sold his cabin and corn field for a small sum and "broke for the high timber." In the hands of the pioneer farmer the land was better cultivated, houses of hewn logs were built having glass windows, roads were improved, and the scattered village took form. In most cases he, too, was ready to sell out to the man who came with more capital and gave him the means by which he was able to gain possession of more and cheaper land farther West. Men were known to sell and move to a new spot five and six times. By 1810, Kentucky had a population of 406,000; Tennessee, 262,000; Ohio, 230,000; Indiana, 25,000; Illinois, 12,000.

Routes of travel.

North of the Ohio, the settlers came, at first, chiefly from Kentucky and Tennessee. Migration continued along the Alleghany valleys and the other established routes (p. 172). From South Carolina and Georgia, settlers passed into Alabama and Mississippi, and took possession of the cotton lands.

Two main roads led from New England: (1) From Albany along the Mohawk valley to Lake Erie; and (2) from the Hudson to the head waters of the Alleghany River and thence to Pittsburg.

Land travel.

Freight and passengers, both at so much a pound, were carried in the great "Conestoga" wagons, which were drawn by from four to six horses.* Many settlers went on foot, placing their household goods on the backs of horses, or the men carried their own slender stock. Even the best roads were at times almost impassable. Private corporations, in a number of the States, had begun to construct "turnpikes" by the end of the century. The problem of improving communication between the East and the West was constantly under discussion. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York were rivals for Western trade, and a road was demanded across the mountains which would be beyond the ability of private capital to construct.

Cumberland or National Road.

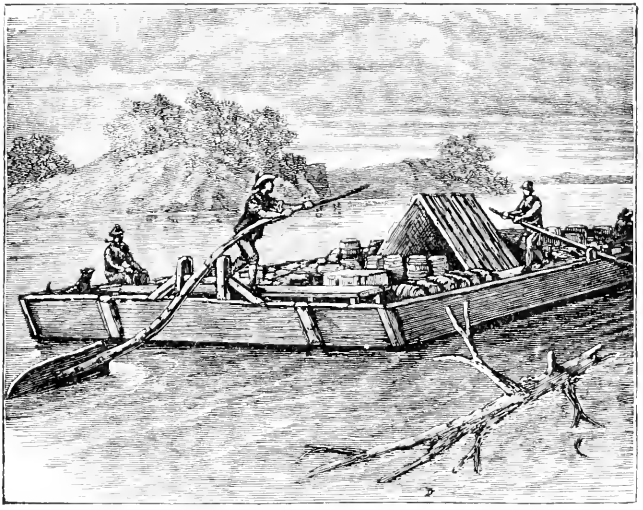
In 1806, Congress appropriated $30,000 for the construction of a road west from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio. It was believed that better means of communication would hasten the sales of public lands. Work on the road was not begun until 1811. By 1820, it was completed to Wheeling, and was extended to Columbus, to Indianapolis, and to Vandalia, at that time the capital of Illinois. It made transportation easier, for it was built of crushed stone (the Western part was macadamized), the grades were reduced, and good bridges were constructed. Between 1806 and 1838 sixty appropriations (amounting to nearly $7 000,000) were made for this road. Opposition to giving Federal aid to such enterprises developed; its place was gradually taken by railroads; and by 1856 Congress had given it over to the States through which it ran.

River travel.

At Pittsburg or Wheeling settlers took passage on one of the many sorts of water-craft. Barges and flat-boats were common. In 1811, there were four hundred keel-boats on the Ohio and its tributaries. These boats were from twelve to fifteen feet wide and fifty feet long, and were roofed over. They required from six to ten

* In 1805, the cost was $4.50 a hundred from Baltimore to Pittsburg and $5 from Philadelphia. It required from twenty to twenty-four days to travel the 300 miles between Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

men to drive them against the current, but were used, because of their narrowness, in going up the tributary streams. Freight-boats were taken to New Orleans, where cargoes and boats were sold. The boatmen returned on foot or horseback, or went by sea to Philadelphia or Baltimore. It was estimated that twelve hundred



Flat-boat

freight-boats passed the Falls of the Ohio * (Louisville) during seven months of the year 1811 with their loads of flour, bacon, and merchandise of various sorts. Stories were common of the wild, free, and at times riotous, lives of the river-men, and likewise of the dangers from Indians.

Steamboats and Western development.

A steam-boat was first used on the Ohio in 1811, and in 1816 two were launched on Lake Ontario. The steamboat soon became one of the most effective agencies in the development of the West. The markets of New

* Goods were landed and carried around the Falls except during high water.

Orleans were brought nearer, for it became possible, as early as 1817, to go from Louisville to New Orleans in seven days (1,502 miles).* On the return trip, which took twenty-five days, hardware, dry-goods, and sugar were brought back. These products had formerly been conveyed from Atlantic ports at a much greater cost for freight.

Westward movement after 1815.

After the war the Westward movement was greatly accelerated. "Old America seems to be breaking up and moving Westward," wrote a traveller who passed along the National Road in 1817. "We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track toward the Ohio, of family groups behind and before us." Fifteen thousand wagons, containing emigrants from New England, passed along the road between the Hudson and Pittsburg during the eighteen months previous to April, 1816.

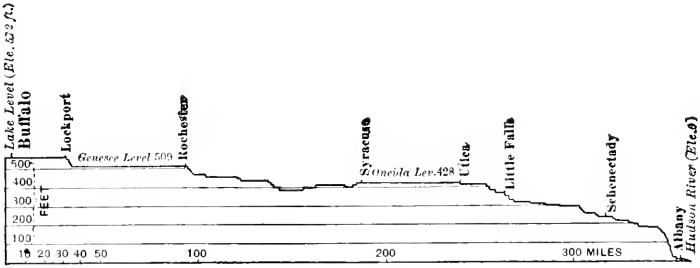
Motives in going West.

Commercial prosperity in the East, as we have seen, had wellnigh disappeared. Laborers, unable to obtain work, crossed the mountains to points where labor was in great demand and wages high, at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and other rapidly developing manufacturing and commercial centres. There was no longer continual fear of attacks by the Indians. Besides, the extinction of Indian titles to land opened up extensive areas suitable to cultivation and grazing. The great forest tracts were valuable for lumber. By a law of 1820 settlers were able to buy from the Government, for cash, as small a tract as eighty acres at a minimum price of one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. The iron and coal mines of western Pennsylvania and the lead mines of Wisconsin and Illinois also attracted settlers. Owing to the hard times in Europe, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, emigration to America became notable. During the year 1817, 7,634 immigrants came through the port of New York alone, and large numbers of these joined the rush Westward.

* Keel-boats took about forty days down and ninety up

During the war there was great delay in transporting men and supplies to the West, and this became a striking illustration of the need of better means of communication. The rapid growth of this section and the problem of reaching the markets served likewise to create discussion, among the men of the West, on the necessity for roads and canals. Under the leadership of Calhoun, then an ardent Nationalist, Congress, in 1817, passed the "Bonus Bill," appropriating $1,500,000 for internal improvements. "Let it be forever kept in mind," he said, "that the extent of our republic exposes us to the greatest of all calamities—next to

Internal improvements.



Plan of the Erie Canal

loss of liberty, and even equal to that in its consequences—disunion. . . . If we are restricted in the use of our money to the enumerated powers, on what principle can the purchase of Louisiana be justified?" But President Madison deemed the measure unconstitutional and vetoed it.

The first act of the General Government for the improvement of harbors was passed in 1823. This became an additional argument for the advocates of internal improvements. The solid vote of the West carried a measure in Congress, the following year, which permitted such undertakings at national expense.

In the meantime, the State of New York, under the energetic leadership of Governor De Witt Clinton, appropriated money for the digging of a canal from Albany

The Erie Canal.

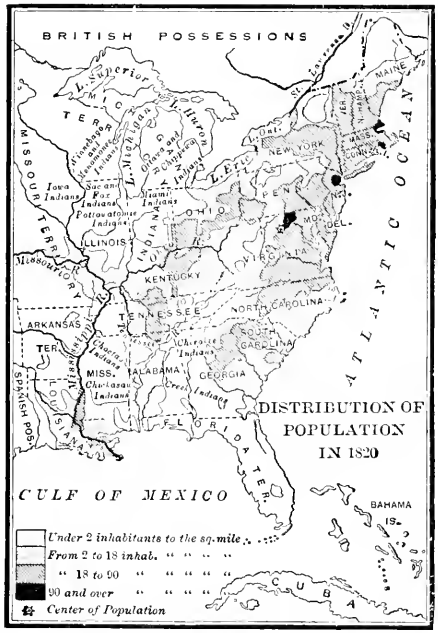
up the Mohawk valley and across the State, 363 miles, to Buffalo. Its completion, in 1825, after eight years of labor and the expenditure of about $7,000,000, was an event of great significance. Freight rates dropped from

Leading Roads and Waterways, 1825

$32 a ton by wagon for one hundred miles to $1 a ton by canal. Within nine years the tolls collected were more than enough to pay for the original cost of construction. Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, and other towns on the canal developed rapidly into important commercial and manufacturing centers. The route was shortened for

products of the North-west to the sea, and New York City became the leading American port. The canal became also the favorite route for freight and passengers to the West.

Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803; Louisiana, in 1812; Indiana, in 1816; Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, Growth of the West.



Distribution of Population in 1820

in 1818; and Alabama, in 1819. The population of the New England States increased thirty-five per cent. in twenty years; that of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee increased three hundred and twenty-one per cent. in the same period. During the decade from 1810 to 1820 the population of Ohio was more than doubled; that of Indiana and Illinois more than quadrupled. Alabama and Mississippi showed similar gains

Characteristics of Western life.

In the wide mixture of nationalities commonly spoken of by travellers, the people of the West resembled, strikingly, the United States as it is to-day. Immigrants came from all sections and various European states, and their interests were national rather than sectional. Step by step they possessed themselves of the wilderness. Their desire to push the bounds of the Nation still farther west was natural. As individuals, they esteemed the qualities of self-help, courage, and loyalty, and there were no privileged orders among them. Each was as good as the other; for all had "shared in the same fatigues and privations, partaken of the same homely fare, and in many instances had fought side by side in defence of their homes against the inroads of the savages." * This spirit of democracy was notable in all activities. State constitutions of a democratic type were formed; a property qualification for voting was not required as in the older States, and the judiciary was made elective instead of appointive.

Religion.

They were in earnest about their religion as about everything else, and stood ready, as occasion arose, to use their physical powers to protect their worship against all forms of lawlessness. Backwoods preachers and "circuit riders" wielded a notable influence among these pioneers. The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations were most in favor.

Schools.

They were aware that the refining influences of an older society were lacking; but they were optimistic for the future and were proud of their wonderful material development. Academies and colleges, some of them of good grade, were founded early by the aid of Government land grants and by private contributions. There were twenty-eight institutions of higher learning in the West by 1830. Private schools were plentiful, but the communities were too poor to establish common schools even with the aid of the one section of land in each township set aside for

* Peck, New Guide for Emigrants, 111.

that purpose by the National Government (1785). A law passed in Ohio, in 1824, for the support of these schools by taxation marked the real beginning of the public school system in that State. About the same time, similar action was taken by other Western legislatures.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Cotton and slavery.

The invention of the cotton-gin made the cultivation of cotton profitable, and the increase of manufactures stimulated the demand for cotton. To meet this demand, the area of cotton-raising extended rapidly, carrying slavery with it to the southern part of the Mississippi valley.*

Slavery North and South.

Article I, section 9, clause 1.

By 1805, all of the States north of Mason and Dixon's line had either abolished slavery or had provided for gradual emancipation. In 1807, the bill prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, was passed with large majorities by both Houses of Congress. This result showed the influence of the anti-slavery societies, which were numerous in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, as well as in the Northern States.

By the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was prohibited north of the Ohio. The admission into the Union of free States north of that river and of slave States south of it made it a dividing line.

While the Northern and the Southern States in 1790 had about the same population, by 1820 the free States contained 700,000 more than the slave-holding States. In the House of Representatives the former had a majority of twenty-four members over the latter. But from the admission of Ohio, free and slave States had come alternately into the Union, and thus a balance of the sections was kept in the Senate. The South wished to keep this adjustment in order to prevent legislation to which it was opposed.

Not until 1819, was there the first real contest between the two sections. In that year, the question of the admission of Missouri as a State came up for discussion in

* Good cotton lands sold for from $40 to $100 an acre in Alabama (1818). The sale of public lands in that territory during the same year amounted to $3,000,000. The population of Alabama when admitted into the Union (1819) was 48,310 whites and 41,384 slaves.

Congress. Slave-holding had been allowed in the Louisiana territory when it belonged to Spain and to France, and was permitted to continue after its purchase by the United States. As a result, planters in increasingly large numbers, with their slaves, crossed the Mississippi to the Missouri valley.

The question of slavery in Missouri.

When the act for the admission of Missouri was before the House, an exciting debate took place over an amendment introduced by Tallmadge, of New York, an amendment which proposed that no more slaves should be admitted, and that all children born within the State after its admission should be free at the age of twenty-five years. Clay led the opposition to restriction. He argued that if slavery were allowed to spread, its evils would be lessened. He denied the constitutional power of Congress to impose on newly organized States restrictions that limited their sovereign rights. Tallmadge held that such restriction was constitutional. He attacked the system of slavery, calling it "this monstrous scourge of the human race which threatened the life of the Nation." The amendment passed the House by a close vote, but was rejected in the Senate. No further action was taken during the session.

The Missouri Compromise.

Public meetings and legislatures in the various Northern States passed resolutions against the admission of Missouri as a slave State, and the South protested against restriction. When Congress met (December, 1819), a bill was passed by the House admitting Maine, recently owned by Massachusetts, as a State. A compromise amendment was agreed upon in the Senate (1820), providing for the admission of Missouri as a slave State, but in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30′ slavery was to be prohibited. The compromise was accepted by the House of Representatives. President Monroe signed the bills, and Maine was admitted.

But the constitution of Missouri contained a provision that forbade the entrance of free negroes into the State,

and this gave rise to another difficult question.* Through the efforts of Clay, a compromise was accepted. Missouri was admitted, but it was stipulated that the rights of citizens of the United States going to Missouri should not be abridged.

Results of the compromise.

The passing of the Missouri Compromise was important; for therein was accepted the principle that Congress has the power to prohibit slavery in the territories. But the controversy still further divided the two sections of the country already separated by a geographical boundary line.† Although slavery as an issue sank out of sight for a number of years, it was becoming more and more dominant in the economic and social life of the South. In the North, sentiment against the institution of slavery grew with the years.

Exploration of the "far West."

In 1819, Major S. J. Long set out on a scientific expedition from St. Louis to the West. Long's Peak was discovered and much of eastern Colorado was explored. He described the region through which he passed as almost wholly unfit for agricultural purposes. After 1822, traders from St. Louis began to cross this *Great American Desert* with their trains of wagons and mules loaded with goods for Santa Fé, bringing back furs and silver.

Trappers and fur-traders were also penetrating the regions farther North. Agents of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company (1823–1824), after crossing the mountains from the Platte to the Green River returned by way of Great Salt Lake and the *South Pass*, the "Cumberland Gap" of the Rocky Mountains. Within the next ten years, the chief routes to California and Oregon had been made known, and settlers were taking possession of the frontier in the new North-west.

* In some States free negroes were citizens. According to the Constitution of the United States they were guaranteed the rights of other citizens. See, Article IV, section 2, clause 1.

† Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River.

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2. Compare the attitudes of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster toward the tariff in 1816. Clay, Am. St. Series, 129–131. Calhoun, Am. St. Series, 33–35. Webster, Am. St. Series, 153–156 (new ed.).

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CHAPTER XIX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM—1815-1830

Nationalism.

EVIDENCES of a growing spirit of nationalism which signified independence of other nations and pride in American development became more manifest after the War of 1812. We have noted this tendency in such legislation as the recharter of the United States Bank; the tariff of 1816; Congressional appropriations for internal improvements; and in the growing power of the West, a region which looked to the Federal Government for aid in its development.

Monroe elected President, 1816.

It is significant that this legislation had been accomplished with the Republican party in power. That this party was in favor with the people is shown by the fact that James Monroe received 183 electoral votes for President, Rufus King, the Federalist candidate, receiving only 34.

For many years, Monroe had been prominent as a legislator and a diplomatist. Although not in the first rank among the great statesmen of his time, he rendered valuable service as Secretary of State under Madison. After the burning of Washington, he was also made Secretary of War, and in this capacity he improved the conduct of military affairs.

"Era of good feeling." Monroe re-elected, 1820.

Shortly after his inauguration, Monroe made a tour through the North and West for the purpose of examining the "National defences." Another object was to promote harmony between the political parties. Everywhere the President received an enthusiastic welcome. The fusion

of parties became so complete that the period (1817–1825) has been called the "Era of good feeling." In the Presidential election of 1820, Monroe received all but one of the electoral votes, but there developed such a spirit of faction and jealousy among leading men, chiefly within the Cabinet, that the next Presidential contest (1824) was one of intense bitterness.

James Monroe
Drawn from a reproduction of the painting by Gilbert Stuart

Nationalizing power of the Supreme Court.

No influence was more notable in fostering nationalism than the Supreme Court decisions.* This tendency was especially marked during the period when John Marshall was Chief Justice (1801–1835). Two decisions, among others, show this exaltation of national power. The case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland (1819) grew out of the attempt by that State to tax a branch of the United States Bank at Baltimore. The decision declared that the establishment of such a bank, with branches, was constitutional according to the doctrine of *implied powers*, and such branches could not be taxed by a State. In the Dartmouth College case, of the same year, the decision asserted that a charter to a private corporation is a contract which it is unconstitutional for a legislature to impair.

Article I, section 8, clause 18.

Article I, section 10, clause 1.

Spain refused to recognize the title of the United States to even a portion of West Florida (see p. 247). The Spanish possessions, without efficient government, became

* Associate Justice Brewer declared that the "decisions of the Supreme Court have always been in harmony with and sustaining the proposition that the republic is a Nation acting directly upon all its citizens with the attributes and authority of a nation and not a mere league or confederacy of States." Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 33, p. 273.

a refuge for fugitive Indians, negroes, and all sorts of criminals and adventurers from the United States. A body of Seminole Indians, after attacking some United States troops, fled across the boundary into Florida. In 1818, General Jackson was sent against them, and, as usual, did thorough work. He seized St. Marks and Pensacola, centres from which the Spaniards aided the Indians, and he executed two British subjects who were suspected of assisting the Seminoles. Florida was brought under the military control of the United States, and during the next year a treaty was concluded by which Spain ceded Florida to the United States. The United States was to pay the claims of American citizens against Spain to the amount of $5,000,000.

Purchase of Florida, 1819.

Spain also abandoned her claims to territory north and east of a line extending from the mouth of the Sabine River to the Red River. It ran thence along the Red River to the one hundredth meridian; thence due north to the Arkansas, and along the south bank of that river to its source; thence due north to the forty-second parallel and along that parallel to the Pacific Ocean. This agreement fixed the western boundary of the Louisana purchase and signified that the United States gave up claims to Texas.

Our Western boundary.

The problem of the relation of the United States to the Spanish colonies of South and Central America and Mexico was also one of great moment. When Napoleon conquered Spain (1808), the South American colonies revolted against the arbitrary rule of Spanish officials. Only in Buenos Ayres was the revolution successful. Elsewhere, the colonies accepted the Bourbon King of Spain on his restoration in 1815. In 1817, General San Martin, with his picked regiments from the La Plata States (Argentine Confederation), marched across the Andes and conquered the Spaniards in Chili. Peru was also aided in securing independence. Revolution again broke out in the North under the leadership of General Simon Bolivar. Aided by Irish and English troops, he achieved the liberation of Venezuela and Colombia. Mexico became independent in 1821, and Revolutionary governments were set up in all the Spanish American States. Brazil also proclaimed its independence from Portugal.

Events leading to the Monroe Doctrine.

South American colonies.

The Holy Alliance and South American independence

After the downfall of Napoleon (1815), Alexander I, Czar of Russia formed a league of the chief rulers of Continental Europe, the so-called *Holy Alliance*. Their original resolution to govern according to the principles of the Christian religion, gave place within three years to an agreement to render mutual assistance in maintaining monarchical governments. In 1822, they agreed to lend assistance in the destruction of representative institutions in Europe. A French army, sent into Spain, suppressed an insurrection and restored the absolute monarch. He implored the allies to aid him in regaining control of his American colonies. Great Britain became alarmed lest such a plan should be carried out, a measure which would again close South American ports to her ships. Canning, English Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed a joint declaration between Great Britain and the United States (1823) against any project by European Powers to subjugate the South American States.

Monroe recognized South American independence.

President Monroe had already recognized their independence. Sympathy for them, in their struggle for liberty, was general in this country and commercial relations developed rapidly. European interference in affairs on this side the Atlantic was objectionable. Besides, Russia, in 1821, had laid claim to the control of the Pacific coast north of the parallel 51°, and it was feared that Russian influence would be pushed farther south.

The Monroe Doctrine.

Upon the advice of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, the proposition made by Canning was declined, and President Monroe, in his annual message (1823) defined the policy of the United States relative to European control in America. Dealing with Russian claims, the principle was declared: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

The message was not less explicit on the question of European intervention in the contest between Spain and her American colonies. After calling attention to the difference in the political systems of Europe and America, Monroe wrote: "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this

hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." "Interposition by any European power for the purpose of oppressing the independent American governments," he declared, "or controlling in any other manner their destiny would be viewed as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This warning was effective, and intervention by the European nations was abandoned. In 1825, a treaty between Russia and the United States was ratified. Russia accepted 54° 40′ as the southern boundary line of her American possessions.

Interpretation of the message.

To John Quincy Adams is probably due the credit for wording this significant message, but Monroe assumed responsibility for it. Earlier American statesmen had proclaimed similar views. The later interpretation accepted by Americans has so extended the application of the Monroe Doctrine that the policy is now rightly called the "American Doctrine."

The tariff of 1824.

As a result of the commercial crisis of 1819, a new tariff bill calling for a large increase in duties was proposed (1820). Supported by the Middle States and the Ohio Valley States and opposed by the South and South-west, it passed the House, but failed in the Senate by one vote. The vote of New England was divided. The contest was renewed in 1824. Again, Clay was the leading advocate for his "American Policy." He urged an increase in duties because of the distress pervading the country and the necessity of creating a home market for labor, provisions, and materials through developing manufactures. Webster, representing the shipping interests of New England, contended that the manufactures needed no protection and that intelligence and industry asked only for "fair play and an open field." Southerners argued against the constitutionality of protection, and declared that the burden would fall on the planters. Votes representing the Eastern manufacturers and the Western farmers carried the measure by small majorities in both Houses of Congress. Duties were increased on woollen and cotton goods, hemp, and iron manufactures.

During Monroe's second administration there was really but one political party. Within the Republican ranks, however, there were a number of prominent men who aspired to the Presidency. The people were dissatis-

Presidential election, 1824.

fied with the method of nomination by a "caucus" made up of members of Congress. The revolt then begun against this system led to the present national nominating conventions. Andrew Jackson was nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee and a State Convention in Pennsylvania; John Quincy Adams by the legislatures of the New England States and Henry Clay by those of Kentucky, Missouri, and two other States. William Henry Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, secured the Congressional nomination in a caucus composed of 66 out of 216 members. Political intrigue and bitter personalities were striking features of the campaign. Adams and Clay favored a protective tariff. Jackson was a moderate protectionist and Crawford was opposed to protection. All stood for a National system of internal improvements. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Jackson had received 99 votes; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; and Clay, 37. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President.

John Quincy Adams
From the portrait by Jean Baptiste Adolphe Gilbert, in the State Department, Washington

Since no Presidential candidate had a majority of the votes, the choice between the three highest candidates devolved on the House of Representatives (Amendment XII). Clay believed that Adams was best qualified for the position, and used his powerful influence in the House to bring about that result. The votes of thirteen States were given to Adams, seven to Jackson, and four to

Election by the House.

Crawford. The adherents of Jackson declared that the will of the people had been disregarded and that Clay, with the promise of the office of Secretary of State, had bargained to support Adams. There was no truth in the charge, but when Clay was appointed to that office the story lived on and became a leading cause for the strong opposition to the policy of President Adams.

Henry Clay
From the portrait by Edward Dalton Marchant, in the State Department, Washington

John Quincy Adams.

From his youth, John Quincy Adams had been schooled in public affairs. At the age of fourteen he became private secretary of the American Minister to Russia. He was appointed Minister at The Hague when only twenty-seven, and continued in the public service as Minister to Prussia; United States Senator; and Minister to Russia; as one of the Peace Commissioners at Ghent; and Minister to England. During the administrations of Monroe he was Secretary of State. He was noted for his great talents, his untiring labor, and his uprightness in all relations of life. Every problem was decided on its merits and never for political effect. But severe in his criticism of others, seeing the worst side of his associates, not ready to take advice, he could never become a great organizer of men.

Opposition to President Adams.

President Adams was fully aware, when he assumed the duties of his office, that the opposition to him was powerful. This included a majority of the Senate. In

the House, the strong hostile minority was changed after the first election to a majority. But he refused to build up a political machine, and officers, though personally opposed to him, were retained in office at the expiration of their terms. Antagonism was increased also because of the extreme views of the President on the power of the Government to carry on internal improvements.

National internal improvements.

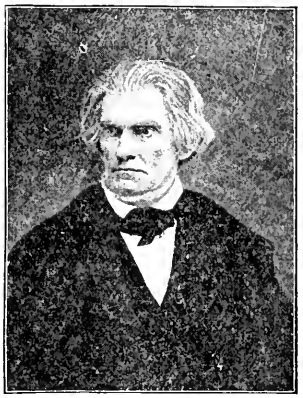
In his first annual message President Adams advocated national appropriations for the construction of roads and canals; for the establishment of a university and an astronomical observatory; for the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. This aroused hostility, especially in the South, where it was feared that such loose construction views might lead to the abolition of the slaves. About $2,300,000 were expended on roads and harbors during this administration, an expenditure which greatly exceeded the amount appropriated for these purposes during all previous administrations.

Georgia and "State Sovereignty," 1825–1827.

About 1820, there became manifest a steady reaction against the spirit of Nationalism which had been prevalent. Various States protested against the "consolidating tendencies of the Judiciary," as Jefferson expressed it. Georgia placed herself in an attitude of resistance toward the Federal Government over the question of the Indians. The United States Government had agreed, in 1802, to extinguish the Indian claims to any lands in Georgia. By a treaty (1826), the Creeks agreed to abandon their lands within that State, excepting a narrow strip along the western border, on January 1 of the following year. Governor Troup maintained that Georgia, by a former treaty, had become possessed of all this land, and asserting that Georgia "is sovereign on her own soil," directed his surveyors to include in their survey the lands west of the line agreed upon in 1826. President Adams ordered the United States officers to arrest any one surveying beyond that line. Governor Troup ordered the release of any surveyors who might be arrested, and prepared for calling out the militia. Congress failed to support the President. The question was settled (1827) by a treaty in which the Creeks surrendered the territory in dispute. In 1828, Georgia also extended her right of sovereignty over the Cherokees in the north-western part of the State.

The tariff act of 1828.

The tariff of 1824 was unsatisfactory to the manufacturers of woollens, who were unable to compete with the English manufacturers. The woollen industry had grown rapidly in New England, and many petitions for relief came from that section. Greater protection was demanded also for other industries. A Presidential election was at hand, and the South desired the election of Andrew Jackson, but was opposed to protection. Both branches of Congress were in control of the Jackson forces. The House Committee brought in a bill providing increased protection for raw materials, such as the wool, hemp, and iron produced chiefly in Pennsylvania and the West. New England was denied the increase of duties demanded. It was believed that the Representatives of New England would join those from the South in defeating the measure, and thus the Adams supporters would become parties to its rejection. But the plan was not successful, for enough New England votes were secured in the House to carry the act, objectionable as it was. This so-called "tariff of abominations" was bitterly opposed in the South, and it was denounced, especially in South Carolina.



John C. Calhoun
From a portrait by Nix, in the South Carolina State Library

Calhoun's Protest.

The reasons for opposition in the South were : (1) The price of cotton had fallen as its production had increased in the South-west. The cost of producing the crop was greater because of the increased demand for and cost of slaves. (2) The cost of food supplies and manufactured articles for which they were dependent respectively on the North-west and on England was enhanced by the tariff.

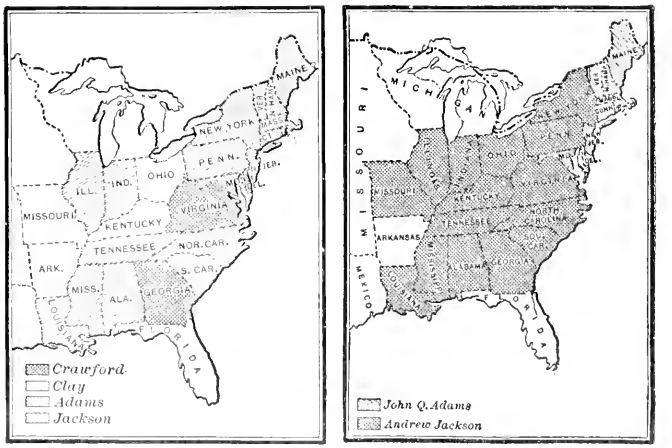
The legislature of South Carolina (1828) adopted the "Exposition and Protest" drafted by Calhoun, which followed the principles of the Kentucky Resolutions (p. 235). In this document he argued that protection of manufactures was unconstitutional and urged, since the Constitution was a compact between sovereign States, that a State might

The Hermitage—the residence of General Jackson

forbid within its limits the operation of a law which it thought unconstitutional. This would compel the abandonment of the law unless three-fourths of the States, in convention, should sanction it. Thus Calhoun, the former Nationalist, had become the exponent of States'-Rights. Protests against the tariff of 1828 were also made by other Southern legislatures.

The political campaign of 1828 which made Andrew Jackson President was really four years in length. During the period, the statements that the "will of the people" had been thwarted in the election of Adams, and that there had been a "corrupt bargain," were shrewdly used by the Jackson managers. President Adams, as we have seen, advocated the liberal interpretation of the Constitution. The men who favored this policy had come to be known as "National Republicans." The opposition had gradually come together as "Jackson men" (soon called *Democrats*). But the most striking appeals to the voters in this campaign of bitter personalities were based on the characteristics of the candidates. Jackson was portrayed as the man who had come from the people. That he was the "hero of New Orleans" served to arouse the enthusiasm of his supporters. A leading argument against Adams characterized him as an aristocrat and monarchist and lacking in sympathy for the plain people. The fact that Adams was a trained statesman was used against him.

Presidential election of 1828.



Election of 1824* Election of 1828

*The electoral votes were divided in New York, Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana, and Illinois. The marking indicates the candidate receiving the highest number in each of these States.

To the adherents of Adams his opponent was an untrained military leader and a duellist. Moreover, the West favored Jackson, for his personality appealed to the men of that section. The loose construction principles of Adams were obnoxious to Southerners. There was not a single electoral vote for Adams south of the Potomac or west of the Alleghanies. Jackson received 178 electoral votes and Adams 83. Of the popular votes, Jackson had 647,276 against 508,064 for Adams. Calhoun was reëlected Vice-President.

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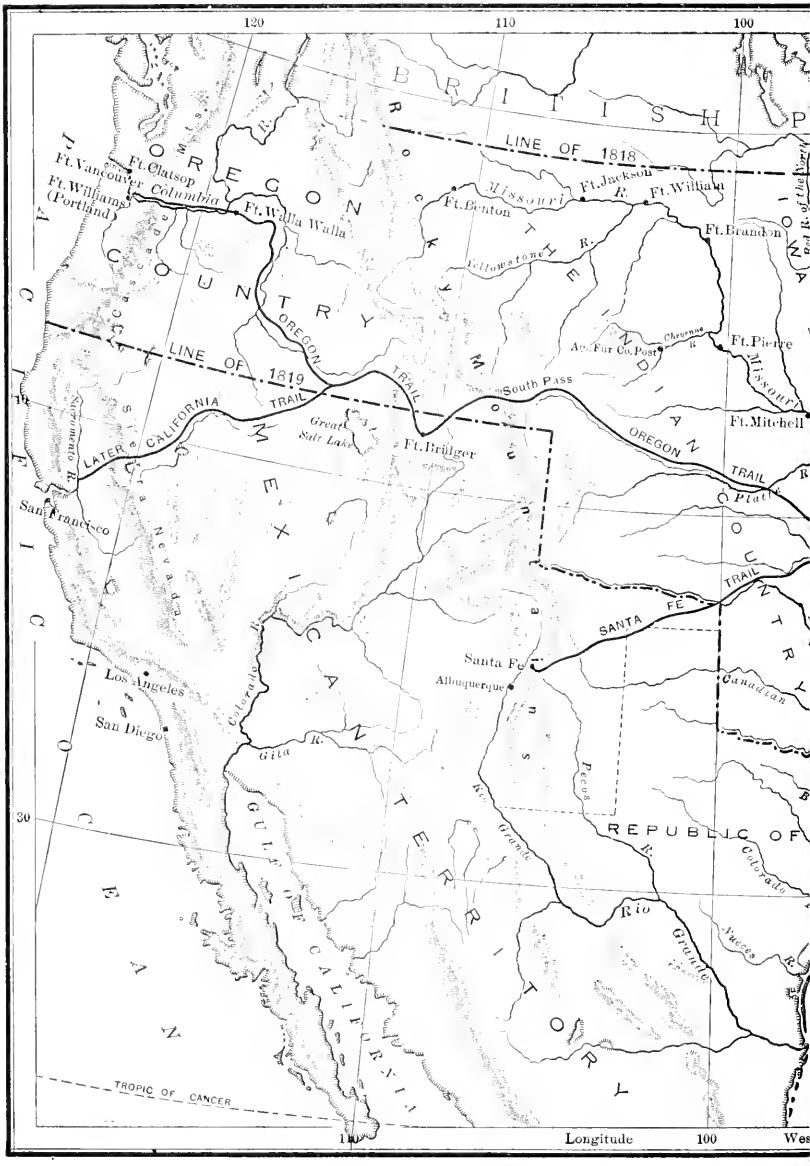
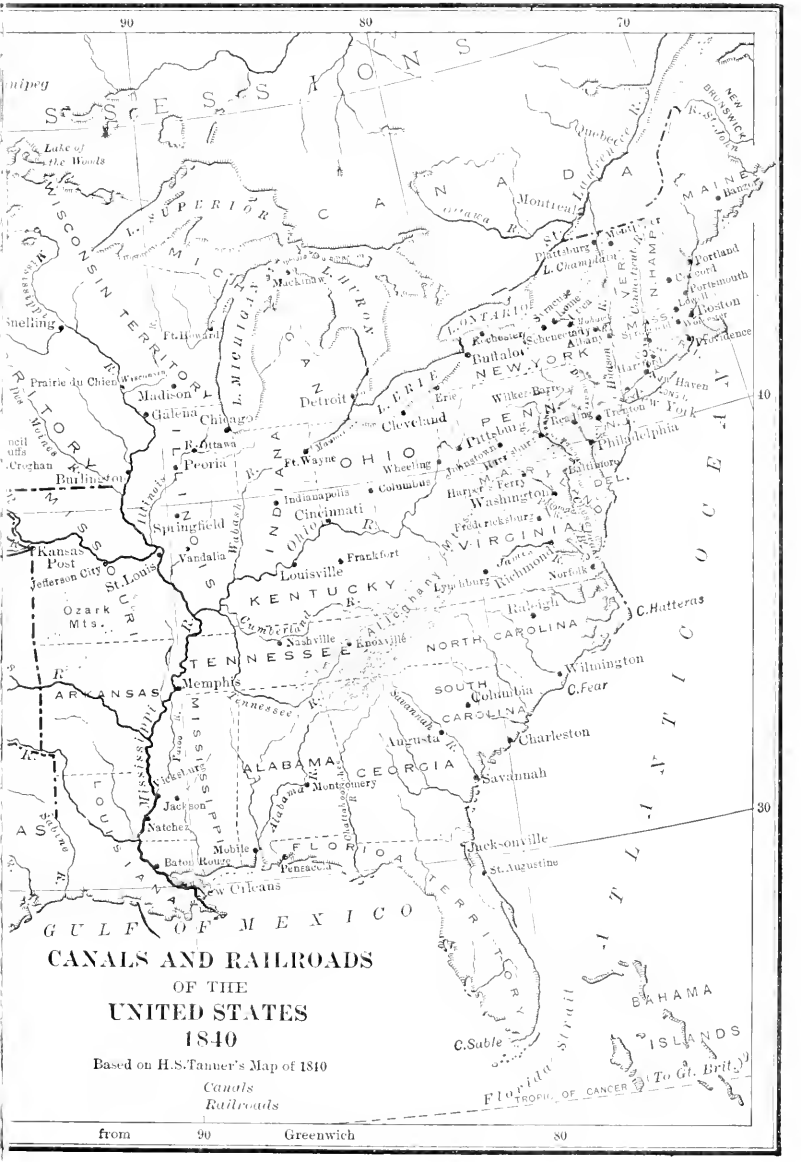


120
110
100
BRITISH P
LINE OF 1818
OREGON COUNTRY
Ft. Clatsop
Ft. Vancouver
Ft. Williams (Portland)
Columbia
Ft. Walla Walla
Ft. Benton
Missouri R.
Ft. Jackson
Ft. William
Ft. Brandon
Yellowstone R.
Rocky Mountains
THE INDIAN COUNTRY
Ft. Pierre
Missouri
Ft. Mitchell
Cheyenne R.
Am. Fur Co. Post
South Pass
OREGON TRAIL
LINE OF 1819
LATER CALIFORNIA TRAIL
Great Salt Lake
Ft. Bridger
Sacramento R.
Sierra Nevada
San Francisco
MEXICAN TERRITORY
Platte R.
SANTA FE TRAIL
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Canadian
Los Angeles
San Diego
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Pecos R.
Rio Grande
REPUBLIC OF
Colorado
Nueces R.
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
30
110
Longitude
100
Wes


CANALS AND RAILROADS
OF THE
UNITED STATES
1840
Based on H.S.Tanner's Map of 1840
Canals
Railroads
from 90 Greenwich 80
90
80
70
40
30
SUPERIOR
MICHIGAN
HURON
ONTARIO
ERIE
NEW YORK
PENN.
OHIO
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
MARY. DEL.
N. CAROLINA
S. CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
FLORIDA
TERRITORY
WISCONSIN TERRITORY
IOWA TERRITORY
CANADA
MAINE
VERMONT
N. HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
NEW BRUNSWICK
Montreal
Quebec
Portland
Boston
Providence
Buffalo
Rochester
Albany
Detroit
Cleveland
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
New York
Baltimore
Washington
Harper's Ferry
Wheeling
Columbus
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
Louisville
Frankfort
Nashville
Knoxville
Memphis
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
Wilmington
Columbia
Charleston
Savannah
Augusta
Montgomery
Mobile
Pensacola
New Orleans
Jackson
Natchez
Vicksburg
Baton Rouge
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Springfield
Vandalia
St. Louis
Kansas Post
Jefferson City
Burlington
Peoria
Galena
Chicago
Madison
Prairie du Chien
Fort Howard
Mackinaw
Fort Wayne
Lake of the Woods
C. Hatteras
C. Fear
C. Sable
Florida Strait
BAHAMA ISLANDS
To Gt. Brit.
TROPIC OF CANCER
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Ozark Mts.
Alleghany Mts.
Cumberland R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Wisconsin R.
Rock R.
Kanawha R.
James R.
Potomac R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Merrimack R.
Kennebec R.
St. John R.
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Savannah R.
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Apalachicola R.
Pearl R.
Red R.
Brazos R.
Colorado R.
Trinidad R.
Grand R.
Platte R.
Osage R.
Des Moines R.
Iowa R.
Fox R.
Rock R.
Wisconsin R.
Illinois R.
Kankakee R.
Maumee R.
Muskingum R.
Kanawha R.
Monongahela R.
Allegheny R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Merrimack R.
Kennebec R.
St. John R.
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW DEMOCRACY AND THE INCREASE OF SECTIONAL FEELING—1830–1845

Jacksonian democracy.

Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri declared that the election of Jackson was a "triumph of Democratic principles, and an assertion of the people's right to govern themselves." What had given rise to this sentiment of democracy? Individual energy and enterprise on the part of Americans, under most favorable conditions, had produced notable results. The spirit of self-confidence was prevalent and asserted itself in society and politics. To this new society, titles, ceremonies, and social distinctions were distasteful. The democracy of Jefferson was likewise based on confidence in the people, but training and experience were regarded as essential qualities for the holders of public office. The democracy of 1830 asserted that the election of Jackson would mean the retirement of trained leaders from the control of the Government.

Influence of the West.

At the commencement of this era of democracy the influence of the West was conspicuous, for the principles of Democratic government had progressed most rapidly in that section. It was not strange that the rough and ready, forceful qualities of "Old Hickory" appealed to the men of the West; for he had come from their ranks and best represented the principles for which they stood.

Andrew Jackson is one of the most striking and interesting characters in American history. He was born in the backwoods of North Carolina. Left alone in the world at fifteen years of age, he gained a bare livelihood

Andrew Jackson.

by work in the fields and in saddle-making. With little knowledge of the law, he was admitted to practise in 1788; and the next year he went to Tennessee. In 1796, he became the first Representative of that State in Congress; and the following year he was elected Senator, but he soon resigned. He made little impression in Congress. Gallatin described him as a "tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage with long locks of hair hanging over his face and a cue down his back tied in an eel-skin, his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a backwoodsman." The military life was more congenial to a man of his courage and strength of will. In the Indian wars and the War of 1812, he showed his great power as a leader of men. Headstrong, and insubordinate on occasions, he was likewise noted for graceful manners, generosity and elevation of mind, sympathy with suffering, and absolute honesty. His hatred of his enemies and devotion to his friends were alike intense. Blind to the faults of his friends, he became at times an unconscious agent through whom unprincipled men accomplished their designs.

Andrew Jackson
From the painting by Sully (1825), in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington

THE NATION DURING THE DECADE 1830–1840

Jackson was elected President of a nation having an area of over two million square miles and a population of nearly thirteen million. Of the increase of nine million

during the years since 1789, only about 400,000 were immigrants. There were nearly two million slaves. Over three million of people were west of the Alleghanies. Because of the development of manufacturing and commercial interests, the growth of cities was becoming more marked in the Northern States. In the thirty-two cities, with over eight thousand inhabitants each, there was not more than seven per cent. of the total population of the country. New York was the largest city with a population of 202,000. Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836 and Michigan in 1837.

Growth of the Nation.

Distribution of Population in 1830

The period of the "reign of Jackson" was one of the most significant in our history. It was remarkable, not alone for the inauguration of political control by the new democracy, but for the industrial, commercial, and social progress that has been characteristic of later periods.

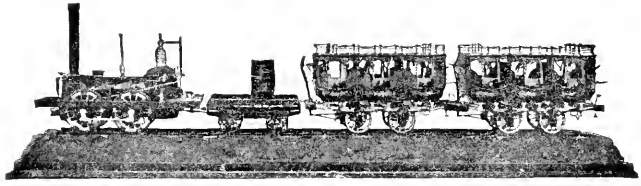
Industrial and social development.

The completion of the Erie Canal gave New York City the advantage in the trade with the West. Accordingly, Pennsylvania, in 1826, began an extensive system of roads and canals, to connect Philadelphia with the Ohio River and central New York, an undertaking which was com-

Canals.

pleted in 1834 at a cost of over $10,000,000. Canals were also constructed for the transportation of anthracite coal from the mines to the manufacturing centers farther east.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was chartered (1825) for the purpose of connecting Washington with the Ohio region. Maryland, Virginia, and the General Government united in the enterprise, which was not completed until 1850. Ohio, in 1825, began the construction of a canal between the Ohio River and Lake Erie at Cleveland. By 1830, there were 1,343 miles of



The First Steam Train Run on the Pennsylvania State Railroad, 1834

canal open for use in the United States, and in 1840 there were over 4,000 miles completed. The mania for internal improvements became general, especially in the States of the North-west. In Illinois, for example, notwithstanding the poverty of the people, numbering in 1840, 489,000, the State debt for internal improvements amounted to $14,237,000.

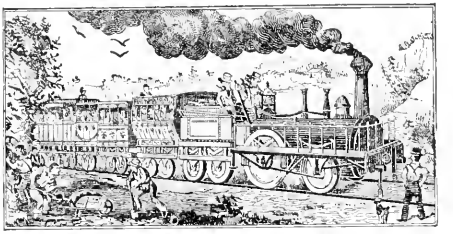
Railroads. As the canal surpassed the wagon road, the railroad, in turn, as a means for more rapid communication, superseded the canal. Roads made of wooden rails, with cars drawn by horses, were built near Boston as early as 1807. Citizens of Baltimore, fearing that the Ohio trade would be absorbed by New York and Philadelphia, set in motion the plan for a railroad across the mountains. A charter was secured by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and work was commenced (July 4, 1828). Thirteen miles of the road were completed by 1830, and traffic was then begun, the cars being at first drawn by horses.

By 1814, George Stephenson, an Englishman, had in-

1843. RAIL-ROAD ROUTE 1843.

BETWEEN

Albany & Buffalo.



FARE REDUCED--ARRANGEMENT TO COMMENCE JULY 10. 1843.

Those who pay *through* between Albany and Buffalo, - $10. in the best cars,
do. do. do. 8. in accomodation cars,
which have been re-arranged, cushioned and lighted.
Those who pay *through* between Albany & Rochester, $8. in the best cars.
do. do. do. 6.50 in accomodation cars.

THREE DAILY LINES.

Through in 25 hours.

GOING WEST.

		1st Train	2d Train	3d Train
Leave	Albany.	6 A. M	1, P. M.	7, P. M.
Pass	Schenectady,	7, A. M.	3 P. M.	9 P. M.
Pass	Utica.	1, P. M.	9 P. M.	4 A. M.
Pass	Syracuse,	5, P. M.	2 A. M.	8 A. M.
Pass	Auburn.	7 P. M.	4 A. M	10 A. M.
Pass	Rochester,	2 A. M.	10 A. M.	4 P. M.
Arrive at	Buffalo.	7 A. M.	3 P. M.	9 P. M.

GOING EAST.

		1st Train	2d Train.	3d Train.
Leave	Buffalo,	4 A. M.	9 A. M.	4 P. M.
Pass	Rochester,	9, A. M.	3 P. M	10 P. M.
Pass	Auburn,	3, P. M.	9 P. M.	4 A. M.
Pass	Syracuse,	8, P. M	11 P. M.	6 A. M.
Pass	Utica.	9, P. M	4, A. M	10 A. M.
Pass	Schenectady,	3, A. M	10, A. M.	3 P. M.
Arrive at	Albany,	5 A. M.	11 A. M.	4, P. M.

EMIGRANTS WILL BE CARRIED ONLY BY SPECIAL CONTRACT.

Passengers will procure tickets at the offices at Albany, Buffalo or Rochester *through*, to be entitled to seats at the reduced rates.

Fare will be received at each of the above places to any other places named on the route.

From an Old Time-table (furnished by the "A B C Pathfinder Railway Guide").

vented the locomotive. One was brought to America as a model. After a successful trial, in 1831, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, of a locomotive built by Peter Cooper, steam quickly became the chief motive power and twenty miles an hour were easily attained. In 1835, there were twenty-two railroads in operation in this country and by 1840, 3,000 miles had been constructed.

Steamboats cross the Atlantic.

The number of steamboats increased on the rivers and the lakes. In 1838, the *Great Western* and the *Sirius* were the first vessels, using steam-power alone, to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Sixteen days were required to make the voyage.

Manufactures and inventions.

Another characteristic of the period was the multiplication of labor-saving and time-saving machinery. Axes and other edged tools were not made in America until 1826. In 1836, anthracite coal was successfully used in the smelting of iron. Owing to this discovery and the more general use of water-power, manufacturing towns increased rapidly in numbers. Between 1831 and 1840, the number of cotton factories multiplied from 801 to 1,240. Cyrus McCormick, in 1834, was granted a patent for a reaper to be drawn by horses. One man, with this machine, could cut more grain than twenty men with the "cradle." The threshing-machine also displaced the flail. Among the other important inventions of the time were the Fairbank's platform scales, machinery for planing boards, and Colt's revolver. Friction matches also came into use, and the lighting of houses and streets with gas became more common.

Organization of labor.

With the increase of factories and the growth of commerce, people tended more to reside in the cities. Individual enterprise began to give place to production by corporations. Workingmen, in their Unions, demanded better conditions, and a Labor Party was organized in various States. Among their demands were a ten-hour day and free schools for their children.

Education, Horace Mann.

State universities, colleges, and academies had multiplied, but public elementary education, the boast of the United States to-day, was then of poor quality. Common schools were in a deplorable condition. Free high schools were beginning to be introduced into a few Northern cities. Conditions in Massachusetts were better than in most of the States, but one-third of the children of that State were without school advantages. Under the influence of the great educational leader, Horace Mann, Massachusetts organized the first State Board of Education (1837). As the first secretary of this board, through his own untiring efforts, he brought about the raising of more taxes for the support of public schools, secured better text-books and established the first normal school (1839).

Girls' education.

Special academies and seminaries for girls had increased in numbers. Some of these schools were coeducational, although there was widespread opposition to granting girls equal educational privileges with boys. In 1833, Oberlin College opened its doors to men and women alike, but twenty years elapsed before another college followed this example.

An American literature.

The period was notable as marking the beginning of the creation of a new literature. Irving, Cooper, and Bryant already had made enduring reputations as writers. Noah Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language was first published in 1828. A volume of poems by Edgar Allan Poe appeared in 1827. Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson and Holmes were publishing their writings. The first volumes of George Bancroft's History of the United States appeared in 1834; and Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella in 1837. Audubon, Agassiz, and Asa Gray were making their contributions to scientific investigation. The Smithsonian Institution was endowed in 1838. During the decade, Webster, Edward Everett, and other orators of high rank were addressing large public audiences. The New York *Sun*, the first one-cent paper, was founded in 1833.

Communistic settlement, Robert Owen.

Besides the efforts which laborers were making in their own behalf, various reformers were projecting plans for their social betterment. Among the most notable of these experiments was that of Robert Owen. He had established a model factory town in Scotland, and there had promoted the first successful attempt to limit the employment of child-labor in the cotton mills of Great Britain. On coming to America, he got together several hundred people and established a settlement at New Harmony, Indiana (1826). All property and labor here were to be in common. The undertaking was a failure, but Owen caused the rapid extension of such communities. Some two hundred were established in different parts of the country.

Brook Farm.

A striking attempt at coöperation was made at Brook Farm, Massachusetts (1841), with such members as Charles A. Dana, Margaret Fuller, George Ripley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and other men and women of letters.

Mormons.

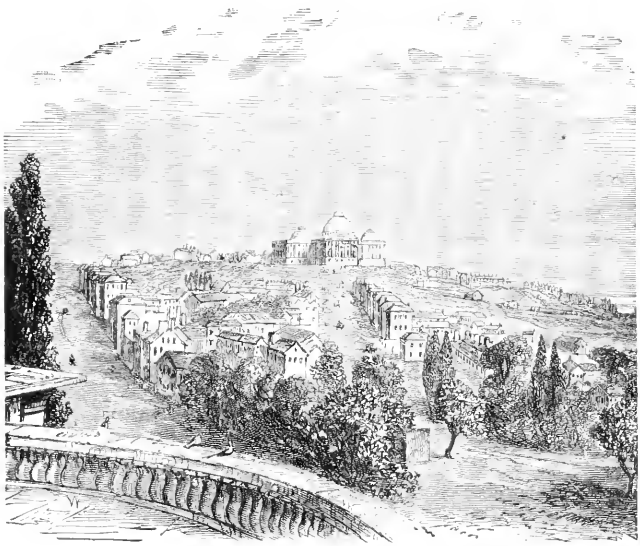
The most successful of religious communal organizations was founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith, who claimed to be an inspired leader and the discoverer and translator of the Book of Mormon. From Palmyra, New York, the Mormons, *Latter Day Saints* as they called themselves, migrated to Ohio; thence to Missouri. Driven from that State, in 1840, they established the "Holy City" at Nauvoo, Illinois. It became a well-built city, with a population of 15,000, in which Smith was "prophet, mayor, general, and judge." He was killed by a mob (1844) and, driven from Illinois, his followers, under the leadership of Brigham Young, then moved to Utah.

Religious and humanitarian activities.

Religion was exerting a profound influence in all communities. New sects multiplied and the churches extended rapidly their educational and missionary activities. There were a number of other evidences of the development of the social conscience. Some of the States had abolished the practice of imprisoning for debt, and the public elsewhere began to protest against the practice. In some of the cities special "Houses of Refuge" for juvenile delinquents were established. The system of uniting solitude and labor was introduced into a few

penitentiaries. A public hospital for the insane was erected by Massachusetts.

The use of intoxicating liquors was general. In 1824, a movement for temperance was begun in Boston, and



Washington, from a sketch made about 1830

within three years a hundred temperance societies were organized. Total abstinence was also beginning to be agitated.

THE "REIGN" OF ANDREW JACKSON

The Spoils System.

On coming to Washington, Jackson found the city full of office-seekers. It was understood that his supporters were to be rewarded and his opponents punished. Then, for the first time, was introduced into National affairs the corrupting influence known as the *Spoils System*. According to this system, offices secured through appoint-

ment are regarded as rewards for partisan services. The usage had become general in Pennsylvania and New York, where State politics was thoroughly organized. It was W. L. Marcy, of the latter State, who, in defending the usage before the United States Senate, first used the expression, "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." Jackson lent his influence to fastening the system upon the National administration. No reasons were given for removals; officers who had not been among the followers of Jackson were displaced; and long tenure in office was even regarded as an evidence of corruption. It has been estimated that two thousand removals were made during the first year of this administration. The President was desirous of appointing only able men, but he was frequently misled in his selection through the advice of others.

The Kitchen Cabinet.

The Cabinet, with the exception of Martin Van Buren, the Secretary of State, was made up of men of inferior ability. They were never regarded by Jackson as his advisers on public questions, and regular Cabinet meetings were discontinued. Real power, in the administration, was wielded by a number of intimate friends of the President, called by his enemies the *Kitchen Cabinet*.

The Webster-Hayne debate, 1830.

The discussion of the rights of a State (see p. 294) was transferred to the United States Senate, and Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, an orator of ability, presented the Calhoun theory of State rights. He declared, speaking on a resolution of inquiry into the disposal of the public lands: (1) That a State might decide in a given case that the Federal Government had exceeded its power; and (2) that a State government might "by its own sovereign authority annul an act of the General Government." Webster, in a famous speech, classed among the greatest of world orations, defended the National view of the Constitution. He maintained that the Constitution was not a compact, but the "supreme law made by the people and answerable to the people," and denied the right of a

State under the Constitution to annul a law of Congress. He pointed out that in the Constitution were enumerated the powers granted the General Government, and that in cases of doubt over the extent of such powers the final appeal was to the Federal Judiciary.

This great debate aroused the people of the Nation. But the doctrine of nullification was not destroyed, and early took on practical form. Congress, in 1832, passed a new tariff act, an act which was more moderate than the "tariff of abominations." But the principle of protection was still recognized, and South Carolina, under the guidance of Calhoun, prepared to resist its enforcement. In November of that year a State-convention, called by the legislature, passed an ordinance of nullification. It declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law," and not binding upon the State or its citizens; and that should force be employed by the Federal Government to enforce these acts, South Carolina would regard itself as no longer a member of the Union. The ordinance was to go into effect after February 1, 1833. According to Calhoun any State might decide for itself whether an act of Congress was unconstitutional; might declare it to be null and void and resist its execution within the State. Such an action would be a long step toward breaking up the Federal union.

Nullification in practice.

Daniel Webster

The attitude of the President was not long in doubt. He instructed the collector at Charleston to collect the duties on imports, and ordered General Scott to protect him in that task. He issued his famous "nullification

Jackson and nullification.

proclamation," which contained a warning to South Carolina. The laws of the United States must be executed, he said; "my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. . . . Their object is disunion, and disunion by armed force is treason. Are you ready to incur its guilt?" Upon his request, Congress passed the so-called *Force Bill* (March 1, 1833), authorizing the President, if necessary, to use the land and naval forces in the execution of the revenue laws.

Compromise tariff, 1833

Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency and was elected to the Senate, where he denounced the Force Bill. Defiant resolutions from Governor Hayne and the legislature of South Carolina were read in Congress. The crisis passed after March 2, 1833, when Clay's measure providing for a compromise tariff became a law. This provided for a gradual reduction of the rates for the succeeding nine years, when the uniform rate was to be twenty per cent. South Carolina repealed the nullification ordinance (March 15, 1833).

Jackson's Indian policy.

In his first annual message Jackson showed that his purpose was to support Georgia's attitude toward the Cherokee Indians (see p. 292). They were to submit to the laws of the States (Alabama and Mississippi had similar problems), or migrate to lands west of the Mississippi. He refused to be bound by a decision of the Supreme Court favoring the claim of the Cherokees. "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it!" he is said to have declared. Georgia also defied the Supreme Court. Congress, finally (1834), set aside the Indian Territory, as a reservation, to which most of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi agreed to migrate. The Black Hawk War (1832) and the Seminole War (1835–1842) were serious episodes growing out of this transfer.

The Anti-Masonic party.

A new element in the campaign of 1832 was the appearance of the Anti-Masonic party as a National organization. This party originated in Western New York (1826)

through the excitement over the death of William Morgan, who, it was asserted, had been killed because of his disclosure of the secrets of Masonry. The national nominating convention originated in the convention in which the Anti-Masons nominated William Wirt for President (1831).*

Jackson reëlected President 1832.

The National Republicans also met in National convention and nominated Henry Clay and John Sargent. Jackson and Van Buren were nominated in the National convention of the Democratic party (1832). Jackson was triumphantly reëlected, receiving 219 of the 286 electoral votes. Clay's followers based their appeal on his efforts in favor of the protective tariff and internal improvements. More than any other, the United States Bank advocated in the platform of the anti-administration party was made an issue.

Jackson and the Bank.

Jackson's first annual message (1829) had contained an attack on the bank. Notwithstanding a decision of the Supreme Court, he declared (1) its establishment unconstitutional; and (2) that it failed to provide a uniform and sound currency although the currency of the country had never before been in as good condition. In his subsequent messages a similar attitude was manifested. Friends of the bank hastened the contest by applying for a new charter (1832) four years before the old one expired. After a heated discussion a bill granting the renewal of the charter passed both Houses of Congress. The veto message of the President aroused the whole country. Among others, the reasons given for the veto were: (1) That the bank was "a great monopoly" with benefits for the few and in which the masses had no share; (2) that it was unconstitutional, mismanaged, and unsound. A vote in the Senate on the veto failed of the

* The call for the convention provided for as many delegates from each State as there were Senators and Representatives from the State in Congress. There were delegates appointed from ten States and the Territory of Michigan. An "address to the people" marks the use also of the first formal party platform

necessary two-thirds. The campaign issue, Jackson or the bank, then went before the people, with the result already shown.*

Removal of deposits 1833.

His reëlection convinced Jackson that the people sustained him in his attitude toward the bank, and he continued the attack. He declared that it was unsound; that it had gone into politics, and that, consequently, the public funds deposited in it were unsafe and should be withdrawn. It is true that funds of the bank had been used in the election of 1832. The House of Representatives, however, upon the report of a special committee, voted (March 21, 1833) that the deposits might be safely continued in the bank. But Jackson had determined that the deposits must be withdrawn. According to the charter, the public funds were to be deposited in the bank or its branches unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury, who should at once lay before Congress his reasons for such an order. McLane, then Secretary of the Treasury, was opposed to the removal and was transferred to the State Department. William J. Duane was appointed as his successor, but he refused to take the required action and was removed. Roger B. Taney was named as his successor and gave the order for removal (September 26, 1832). This meant that the public money, about $10,000,000, then in the bank, was to be drawn upon in the payment of Government debts and that no more was to be deposited. Certain State banks called *pet banks* were selected as depositories.†

* The argument that the bank was a monopoly and dangerous to the liberties of the people had especial influence over voters. Great opposition to the bank was excited also by the State banks, particularly in the West and the South.

† These banks were selected because of their political influence rather than for their soundness, and were situated, chiefly, in the Democratic South and West.

All subsequent propositions for the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank failed. When the charter expired (1836), the bank was continued as a State bank by authority of the legislature of Pennsylvania.

Results of the removal of deposits.

The Bank of the United States was forced to curtail its loans in order to meet the demands for the deposits. State banks which were debtors to the United States Bank were compelled to pursue a similar course. Equal amounts could not be borrowed from the pet banks, and money became scarce. Failures in business ensued, petitions, with thousands of signatures, asking for relief were poured into Congress.

The Senate censures Jackson.

A heated discussion in the Senate, occupying much of the time for three months, finally led to the adoption of a resolution censuring Jackson for his action on the bank (March 28, 1833). In his protest to the Senate against the charge of usurpation, Jackson declared that he was not bound by the decisions of the Supreme Court, and was independent of both Congress and the Supreme Court. The persistent demands of Senator Benton caused the expunging of the resolution of censure (January 16, 1837).

Origin of the Whig party.

During this period of excitement, in which the President was accused of "tyrannical and dictatorial conduct" and disregard for the Constitution and the laws, the National Republican party took the name *Whig*. "Whig was the name by which the patriots of the Revolution were known and was synonymous with a friend of liberty and an opponent of arbitrary government."*

Speculation.

The hope of securing a share of the deposits induced a mania for the formation of banks. Between 1829–1837, the number of State banks increased from 329 to 788. These banks, many of them with little or no capital, flooded the country with their notes. There was a general rise in prices; the rage for speculation became widespread and extended, especially, to city property and western lands. Everybody seemed to be getting rich. Many of the States became heavy borrowers at home and abroad to aid in building canals and railroads which were already projected beyond the needs of the country.

* Sargent, Public Men and Events, I. 262

Distribution of the surplus revenue.

The National debt was extinguished by January 1, 1835. Thereafter, the Government began to accumulate a large surplus, chiefly from the customs duties and the sale of public lands. Receipts from the latter source increased from $4,800,000 in 1834 to $24,800,000 in 1836. What should be done with this surplus? Finally an act was passed, providing that the surplus money in the Treasury, after January 1, 1837, should be distributed in four quarterly instalments, as *loans*, among the States, in proportion to their representaion in Congress. Three payments, amounting in all to $28,000,000, were made and the distribution ceased. The surplus was exhausted. As was anticipated, the money has never been recalled. It was sunk, chiefly, in the construction of public works.

The specie circular.

During the years 1836 and 1837 over 36,000,000 acres of public lands were sold. Payment had been permitted, contrary to the law,* in the notes of irresponsible State banks. The Treasury was soon flooded with this irredeemable currency. A resolution in the Senate providing that such payments should be made in gold and silver failed to pass (1836). After the adjournment of Congress, the famous "specie circular" was issued by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the order of the President (July 11, 1836). It directed that only gold and silver should be received in payment for public lands. This order, as we shall see, hastened the inevitable financial crisis. But the period of inflation had almost run its course. The crash came during the administration of Martin Van Buren.

Election of Martin Van Buren, 1836

Jackson declared Van Buren to be his candidate for President, and that was law in the perfectly organized Democratic party. The opposition was not united. The Anti-Masons nominated William Henry Harrison of Tippecanoe fame. He was indorsed by the Whigs of Pennsylvania, but the Whigs of Massachusetts nominated Webster. Other nominees were put forward by State

* Notes of specie-paying banks were stipulated.

legislatures. Van Buren was opposed to a United States Bank, to National internal improvements, and to the distribution of public funds. Harrison favored these measures. Van Buren received 170 electoral votes; Harrison 73. The majority of Van Buren over all other candidates was 46.

The title, "Little Magician" had been applied to the President-elect because of his ability as a political manager. Even in his relations with opponents, he was noted for great social tact and geniality. He stood pledged to "tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

The panic of 1837.

High prices and high rents had produced strikes and riots before the election took place. Van Buren was scarcely inaugurated before the country was in the midst of the worst financial panic it has ever passed through. Some features of Jackson's financial policy were harmful no doubt, but the reckless gambling spirit prevalent among the people made a crisis inevitable. Among the immediate causes for this calamity may be mentioned: (1) Many banks, deposit banks among others, especially in the West, were unable to meet the demands made on them to redeem their notes after the issue of the specie circular. (2) Business depression had also become general in England (1836), and English creditors attempting to collect from American buyers seriously embarrassed the banks of Eastern cities. English factories reduced their output, and the demand for cotton becoming less, the price fell.* (3) Two failures of crops in the Middle and Western States (1835 and 1837) made it impossible for farmers to meet their obligations.

Banks throughout the country suspended specie payments (May 11, 1837). Specie disappeared and bank notes rapidly depreciated in value. Failures among mercantile houses were widespread; trade relations were almost sus-

* Cotton was sixteen cents a pound in 1835, and fell to ten cents in 1837.

pended; factories were closed, throwing thousands out of employment, and distress ensued. Specie payments were resumed by the banks in 1838. The relief was but temporary; for the next year witnessed an immense number of bank failures. Normal business conditions were not restored before 1842.

Establishment of the Independent Treasury.

At this critical time, President Van Buren showed real strength. In his message to Congress, called in special session (September 4, 1837), he insisted, in spite of the clamor, that relief should not come from the Government but that the people must themselves right the conditions by natural methods. Sales of public lands had fallen off greatly, and revenue from imports had shrunk one-half. Congress voted to postpone payment of the fourth instalment of the surplus to the States.

The leading measure recommended by the President looked to the establishment of the Independent Treasury or the Sub-treasury system. According to this plan, not adopted until 1840, the Government was to be "divorced" from all banks, and the public funds were to be deposited in the Treasury at Washington, and in sub-treasuries under the control of Government officials.

Antislavery movement

During the first part of the century there had been a gradual extinction of slavery in the Northern States, for the system of slavery was not adapted to Northern industries. After the Missouri Compromise, interest in the antislavery movement seemed to wane. At the South there were then but few persons who really justified the system of slavery. Sentiment became more favorable towards its continuance as the area of cotton cultivation extended to the southwest, and as a consequence the demand for laborers was greatly increased.

Abolitionists, Lundy, Garrison.

Benjamin Lundy was the first American to dedicate his life to the cause of the slave. In his public addresses he advocated the gradual though total abolition of slavery in the United States and

the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia.* The same views were set forth in his journal, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he established in Ohio (1821). Antislavery societies, in large numbers, were

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

organized by Lundy in a number of the States. One of his converts in Boston was William Lloyd Garrison, who, for a short time, became a partner with Lundy, then (1829) publishing his paper in Baltimore. Half-way measures were not acceptable to Garrison, and he began to demand "immediate and unconditional emancipation." Returning to Boston, he determined to found a paper of

* Lundy was in favor of colonizing emancipated slaves in Hayti. He never sympathized with the efforts of the American Colonization Society, which did not make emancipation a primary object. This Society, supported by reformers and slaveholders, had for its aim the transporting of free negroes to Africa. Several thousand were sent to Liberia. None of the colonization schemes were really successful.

his own, and January 1, 1831, the *Liberator* appeared. He declared in the first number: "I shall strenuously contend for the enfranchisement of our slave population. . . . I am in earnest. . . . I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

Abolition Societies.

In 1832, the New England Antislavery Society was formed by Garrison. A step farther was taken the next year when the American Antislavery Society was organized at Philadelphia. Local and State societies were also founded and slavery was denounced as an "execrable system." They proposed to use moral means to bring about its destruction, and conceded that Congress had no right to interfere with slavery in the States. This doctrine was not acceptable in the North. Abolitionist meetings were broken up by mobs, and the leaders suffered personal violence. Garrison was captured and dragged through the streets of Boston, and his life was threatened. In Alton, Illinois, Elijah P. Lovejoy was shot down (1837) because he persisted in publishing an abolition paper. Such actions aroused many who heretofore had not sympathized with the movement, but who believed in freedom of speech and of the press. In 1840, there were 2,000 abolition societies with some 175,000 members.

Other abolition leaders.

John Greenleaf Whittier, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Parker exerted a notable influence in behalf of abolition. There were many men who were not in sympathy with the extreme views of Garrison and who condemned his harsh language; in fact, he was not acknowledged as a leader in the Middle States and the West. Among others who were unwilling to accept his dictation were William Ellery Channing, a leading clergyman of Boston, James G. Birney, an Ohio editor, and Salmon P. Chase of the same State.

While women were admitted to the local abolition societies, separate societies for them were also founded. Lucretia Mott and Lydia Maria Child were prominent in the movement.

In 1831, there was general alarm in the slave States because of an insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia, led by a negro, Nat Turner. The lives of sixty-one whites were sacrificed. In the attack upon them which followed, more than one hundred negroes met a like fate. In both South and North the words of Garrison were cited as the real cause of the revolt. The legislature of Georgia offered a reward of $5,000 for the arrest and conviction of the editor or publisher of the *Liberator* or of any person who should circulate copies of that paper within the State. Postmasters refused to transmit abolition publications through the mails.

Sentiment toward abolition in the South

Wendell Phillips

Sectional feeling grew apace after the discussions in Congress, during the session 1835–1836, over the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Petitions from Quakers, asking such action, had for many years been regularly sent to Congress, where they were read, sent to the Committee on the District, and were not heard from again. Other petitioners took up the cause, and in 1836 a controversy arose which was to arouse the country for years. John Quincy Adams, then a Representative from Massachusetts, presented the usual petition on slavery in the District of Columbia. Representatives from the South, believing their affairs interfered with and their peace and safety invaded, finally succeeded in bringing about the passage of the so-called 'gag resolution." It provided that all petitions and resolutions relating to slavery should be laid upon the table and that there should be no further

Congress and the right of petition.

action on them. On many occasions, for eight years, Adams renewed his attack on this resolution as a violation of the Constitution. During that time, he presented thousands of similar petitions, those of the year 1838 having 300,000 signatures. In 1844, the rule was abandoned.

Candidates for President, 1840.

Van Buren was the candidate of the Democratic party for reëlection in 1840. By a political trick, the Whigs, in National convention, set aside Clay, who was their acknowledged leader, and nominated William Henry Harrison. He had taken no part in public life for years, but the "odor of gunpowder" was still about him. John Tyler of Virginia, who had until recently been an extreme Democrat of the Calhoun school, was selected by the Whigs for second place on the ticket. The Whig party had many adherents in the South because of the opposition in that section to Jackson's views on nullification. They objected likewise to any of his disciples. Many of the largest slaveholders were Whigs because of their opposition to democracy. Certain sections of Virginia and some other Southern States were in favor of protection. The various elements in the party could not agree upon principles, so had no platform; they were united solely in opposition to Jackson and his party.

The Liberty Party.

Garrison and his adherents had always insisted that slavery was a moral question and that it should not be brought into politics. Other Abolitionists proceeded to organize a political movement which further emphasized the fact that the leadership of Garrison was local. The Liberty Party nominated James G. Birney for President. While the number of votes he received (7,000) was insignificant, the party became a force to be reckoned with in the two succeeding Presidential elections.

Election of Harrison. Sargent, Public Men and Events, II, 108.

Never before had there been so exciting a campaign. "For several months the people gave themselves up to the wildest freaks of fun and frolic, caring nothing for business, singing, dancing, and carousing night and day." The fitness of Harrison for President was little considered.

Were not the Democrats, called *Loco-focos* by the Whigs, responsible for the business depression?* Therefore, "Down with Van Burenism," was their cry. The supporters of Harrison led in making the most striking appeals to the eye. They utilized a contemptuous expression of a Democrat who declared the Whig candidate would be content with a log-cabin, a barrel of hard cider, and a small pension. Log-cabins, with accompanying live "coons" and barrels of cider, were everywhere in evidence. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was a striking watchword.†

Great processions, monster meetings, and barbecues, with stump-speeches by noted orators, were general. Of the 294 electoral votes, Harrison received 264. Both Houses of the next Congress were also Whig.

Inauguration and death of President Harrison.

President Harrison assumed the duties of office under trying conditions. The Treasury was empty and the revenue was not adequate to cover the expenses of Government. Congress was called to meet in special session

* In a meeting in Tammany Hall, New York City (1835), a "scene of contest and confusion" took place between the two factions of the Democratic party. The lights were extinguished, but the men of extreme views had provided for such an emergency by each bringing with him a candle and a box of loco-foco matches. An account of the disturbance and the lighting of the candles called this faction "Loco-focos." The Whigs applied the name to the entire party. Sargent, Public Men and Events, II, 16, 17.

† What has caused this great commotion, motion, motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball a rolling on
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too.
—*From a campaign song.*

(May 31). Clay refused to be appointed Secretary of State and Webster was given that honor. The Whigs having superseded the Democrats, the rush for office became fiercer than ever, although the Whig party had condemned the spoils system of their opponents. President Harrison, then sixty-nine years of age, died one month after the inauguration.

John Tyler as President.

For the first time in our history a Vice-President became President upon the death of the chief magistrate. Would Tyler carry out the views of the party which had elected him, was the question with which the Whigs were concerned. At the opening of the special session, Clay prescribed the programme which they were to follow. He demanded the repeal of the Independent Treasury law, the creation of a National Bank, and a new protective tariff law. The first was quickly accomplished.

Two bank bills in succession passed both Houses of Congress, but Tyler promptly vetoed the measures on constitutional grounds. Whig leaders were furious and every member of the Cabinet, except Webster, resigned. In the next regular session of Congress, a new tariff measure was passed considerably increasing the duties beyond the twenty per cent. basis which had just been reached under the compromise tariff of 1833. The President vetoed two bills before one was presented which he could approve (1842). The breach between the Whigs and Tyler was complete. All efforts to carry out the chief features of the party programme were futile, and Clay resigned from the Senate.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842.

Webster remained in the Cabinet in order that he might bring about some adjustment of a long-standing dispute over the boundary between the North-eastern States and Canada. The line had not been definitely fixed by the treaty of 1783 and numerous efforts at negotiation had failed. Other questions entered into the controversy, one of the most serious growing out of attempts by certain American citizens to aid the Canadian rebellion (1837).

The boundary situation became more critical when Maine sent troops into the disputed territory. This was known as the *Aroostook War* (1839). Peace was restored, but there was still danger of war. In 1842, a treaty providing for the establishment of a compromise boundary line was agreed upon by Webster and Lord Ashburton who came as a special British Minister to Washington. The northern boundary line as far west as the Lake of the Woods was likewise defined. Two other provisions of the treaty were important. (1) In order to suppress the slave-trade, each nation was to keep an armed squadron cruising off the African coast. (2) Terms were agreed upon for the extradition of any one charged with murder or certain other crimes.

The Dorr Rebellion.

The *Dorr Rebellion* and *Antirent troubles* are two more illustrations of the reform spirit then prevalent (see pp. 304, 305). In Rhode Island, the old colonial charter was in force (1842). No man was allowed to vote unless he held real estate worth $134 or property renting for $7 a year, or was the eldest son of such a "freeman." A more liberal State constitution was adopted by the "People's Party." Thomas W. Dorr, who was elected governor by this party attempted to seize the State property by force and set up a government. President Tyler declared he would support the regular Government. Deserted by his adherents, Dorr was tried and imprisoned on the charge of treason. A new constitution was adopted (1842) which contained more liberal suffrage provisions. Dorr was later pardoned.

Antirent troubles, 1839–1846.

Large areas of land in the State of New York were held by a few persons under grants, some of them going back to the old *patroon* days. Tenants on certain of these lands were required to pay a rent in produce or money annually and, besides, submit to exactions of a feudal kind.* Rensselaerwyck, formerly a patroonship, included the greater part of Albany County and all of two other counties. Some of the tenants on this manor refused to pay overdue rents and drove off the sheriff. The militia was sent to his aid, and this brought on the *Antirent troubles* (1839–1846). The uprising spread to other

* Some of the leases called for a payment of ten bushels of wheat for every 100 acres and "four fat hens and one day's service with horse and wagon for each 160 acres," a money payment being allowed for the last two items. There were other obnoxious provisions in the contract.

estates, and lawlessness became widespread. The antirenters, disguised as Indians, committed acts of violence and some murders. The courts, legislature, and Constitutional Convention (1846) took up the problem. Many prominent men and public opinion generally were opposed to the leasehold system, and finally the landlords agreed to sell the lands to the farmers.

Texas independent, 1836.

By the treaty of 1819, the United States gave up claims to Texas (see p. 287). Within two years (1821), Mexico had succeeded in becoming independent of Spain and offered liberal grants of land to settlers who should come from the United States. The frontier line of settlement had now advanced to the Texas border, and large numbers of colonists, chiefly from the slaveholding States, had crossed into Texas. Too late, Mexican authorities strove to check this immigration of a people whose ideals differed so widely from their own. In 1836 the Texans seceded from Mexico, and their army under General Sam Houston defeated the Mexicans at San Jacinto (April 21, 1836).

The question of annexation.

Texan independence was acknowledged by the United States the following year and application was made to become annexed to this country. President Van Buren did not favor the proposal but when Tyler became President action was hastened. Calhoun accepted the office of Secretary of State expressly to carry out this project. To that end, a secret treaty was negotiated (1844), but this the Senate rejected. The question then became a leading issue in the Presidential campaign of that year.

The candidates for President, 1844.

Clay was given the Whig nomination by acclamation. While Van Buren was favored by a majority of the Democratic convention, his opposition to the immediate annexation of Texas, which he feared would mean a war with Mexico, cost him the nomination. The rule requiring a two-thirds vote for nominating was adopted, and on the ninth ballot James K. Polk of Tennessee was named.* Birney was again the nominee of the Liberty party.

* Polk was the first Presidential "dark horse."

Polk elected President, 1844.

The real issue was announced in the Democratic platform as "the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period." * Owing to its composite character, the Whig party made no statement on the annexation question. Clay had declared against immediate annexation, but in his *Alabama letter*,† written during the campaign, he said: "Far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it annexed without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union and upon just and fair terms." Because of this letter, such large numbers of Whig votes were alienated in New York that the State went against Clay,‡ and its thirty-six electoral votes decided the election. Polk received 170 electoral votes and Clay 105.

Samuel F. B. Morse

Texas annexed

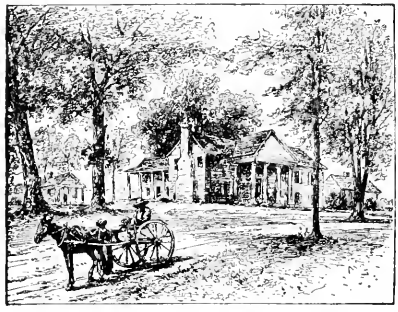
To President Tyler, there was no doubt about the meaning of the election. In his annual message, he declared it to be manifest that a controlling majority of the

* Since the treaty with Spain (1819) the Oregon country had been held jointly by Great Britain and the United States. The Democratic party declared our title to all the territory as far as 54° 40′ clear and indisputable.

† Written to a friend in Alabama, presumably to influence Southern votes.

‡ The majority of Polk over Clay in New York was 5,080. The Liberty party polled 15,812 votes in that State, three-fourths of them being drawn from the Whigs.

people favored the immediate annexation of Texas. A joint resolution passed both Houses of Congress (February 28, 1845) providing for the admission of Texas or the renewal of negotiations as the President might determine



Calhoun's Office and Home, Fort Hill, South Carolina

Four additional States, it declared, might be formed with the consent of Texas, from the territory. There was to be no slavery in such States north of 36° 30′. Tyler did not desire further negotiation nor did he wish to leave final action for Polk. A special messenger was at once dispatched to Texas with the offer of annexation which was willingly accepted.

Morse and the electric telegraph.

Reports of Polk's nomination in Baltimore were received at Washington by telegraph. The line had just been completed, as an experiment, through a Congressional appropriation of $30,000. This wonderful invention had been perfected after years of labor and sacrifice by Samuel F. B. Morse, assisted by Alfred Vail. Further aid was denied and a proposal to sell the patent to the Government was rejected. Telegraph lines were thenceforth constructed rapidly by private companies.

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11. Construction of railroads. Sparks, Expansion of the American people, 275–289.

12. Establishment of the Independent Treasury system. Was it constitutional? Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 18. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 97, 137, 139, 140, 154.

13. Leaders in the abolition movement and their principles. Burgess, Middle Period, 242–277. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 117–123. Hart, Contem., III, Nos. 174, 176, 180, 181. Johnston, Am. Orations, II, 102–114. Larned, History for Ready Reference, V, 3369, 3370. American Colonization Society. Larned, IV, 2925, 2926. Extracts from the Liberator. Old South Leaflets, No. 78

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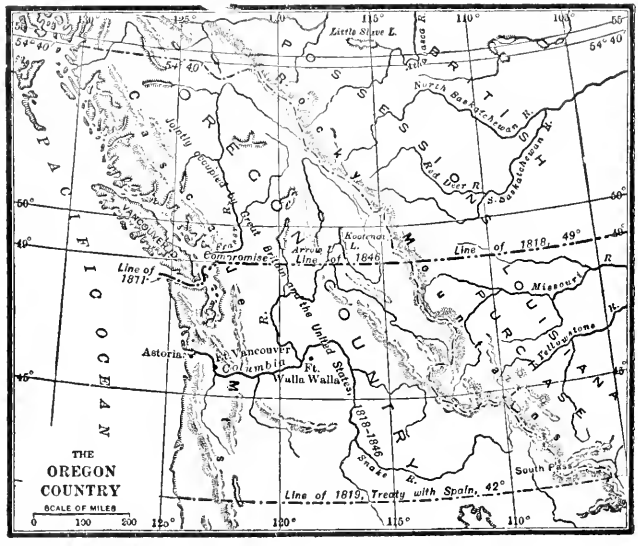


CHAPTER XXI

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND GROWTH OF THE SLAVERY ISSUE

James K. Polk, President, 1845–1849.

President Polk was a man who could be counted on to carry out a party policy at whatever hazard. His resolute spirit was not unlike that of Jackson, who had been his intimate friend. In private life, his standards of honor were high, but his public career was marred by questionable actions, especially in his dealings with Mexico. For seven terms he had been a member of the House of Representatives (twice elected Speaker), and was Governor of Tennessee one term. To a friend he announced his determination to bring about: (1) A reduction of tariff duties; (2) the establishment of the Independent Treasury; (3) the settlement of the Oregon question; and (4) the acquisition of California. Supported by a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress, he succeeded in carrying out the entire programme.

The Oregon question settled, 1846.

The Oregon question first demanded attention. By the treaty of 1819 Spain surrendered its claims to territory north of the forty-second parallel. Russia and the United States agreed to 54° 40′ as a boundary line between their possessions (1825). It was agreed (1818 and 1828) that the country between these lines, known as Oregon, might be occupied jointly by Great Britain and the United States. The claim of the United States to exclusive control of the territory was based on: (1) The discovery by Captain Gray; (2) the expedition of Lewis and Clark; (3) the founding of Astoria, a fur-trading

post on the Columbia (1811). Great Britain advanced claims based on: (1) The explorations of Francis Drake and other English seamen; (2) the complete control of the fur-trade by the Hudson Bay Company; and (3) the construction of Fort Vancouver (1825).

After 1825 there came to be foundation for more substantial claims on the part of the United States. American fur-traders began to compete with the great English monopoly; the first purely agricultural settlement in the Willamette valley was made by Americans (1832), and missions were established by Marcus Whitman and other leaders. In 1843, large companies of pioneers began to migrate to this land of promise.* The Democratic campaign cry (1844) was 54° 40′ or fight. But it could scarcely be expected that Great Britain would submit tamely to the decree that the Rocky Mountains were to constitute the Western limit of her possessions, and for a time there was grave prospect of war.

More than once our Government had offered to accept the forty-ninth parallel to the ocean as a boundary.† In 1846, the British Government proposed a treaty based on the use of the same parallel as a boundary. This proved acceptable, and within a short time the treaty was signed by the President and ratified by the Senate.‡

Tariff and Independent Treasury.

In his first annual message, Polk, a believer in tariff for revenue only, recommended a modification of the act of 1842 and an administration measure became a law (1846). Luxuries were to be taxed from 40 to 100 per cent., and iron, wool, and ordinary manufactures 30 per cent. There was an extended free list. This act remained in effect during the succeeding ten years. An act was passed restoring the Independent Treasury (August 6, 1846).

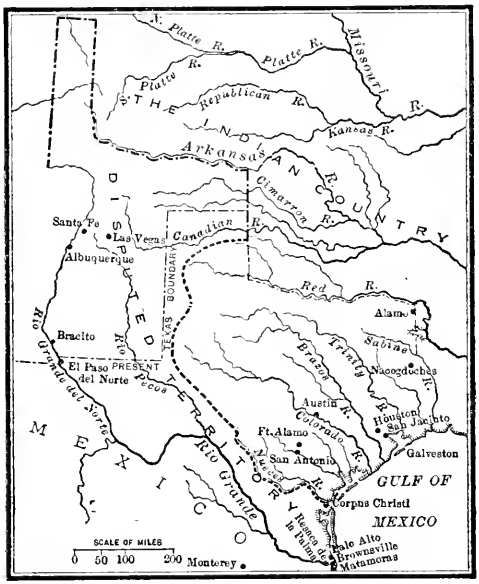
* In 1843, these immigrants numbered 1,000 persons with 140 wagons; in 1844, 1,400 persons; and in 1845, 3,000 persons in several companies.

† The 49th parallel had been agreed upon (1818) as a boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the mountains.

‡ The area of this Oregon territory was 285,000 square miles.

Events leading to war with Mexico

Mexico recalled her minister from Washington (March 28, 1845). The resolution to admit Texas as a State was adopted by Congress and signed by President Polk (December 29, 1846). General Zachary Taylor had already been sent with 4,000 men to the Nueces River in order to



Texas at the time of Annexation

prevent any interference by Mexico, that nation having announced that the annexation of Texas meant a declaration of war. Among other causes for friction two are noteworthy: (1) Mexico had met only in part the claims of American citizens for property which had been bought or seized, the amount having been settled by arbitration (1839). (2) The Mexicans were aroused over the aid given by Americans to Texas in her revolution.

Acceptance on the part of the United States of the

Polk's policy.

claim made by Texas to territory north and east of the Rio Grande finally brought on the crisis. That Texas had any right to the territory beyond the Nueces and to a part of New Mexico is very doubtful. But Polk had resolved to secure the Rio Grande boundary, also the Mexican provinces of New Mexico and California, the latter by purchase. John Slidell was sent as a special agent to accomplish these designs by treaty, but the Mexican Government refused to receive him. Learning that the mission would probably prove a failure and that Mexican troops were being collected at Matamoras on the Rio Grande, the President ordered General Taylor to advance to that river (January 13, 1846). Taylor disregarded the demand of General Ampudia that he should withdraw within twenty-four hours, and continued to fortify his position commanding the river. On April 24, a reconnoitering party of United States dragoons was attacked by a large body of Mexicans which had crossed the river, and sixteen men were killed.

Declaration of war, 1846.

The President had previously decided on a message to Congress recommending a declaration of war because of the rejection of Slidell. Fortunately, for his purpose, news of this attack was received in time to constitute part of a special message (May 11, 1846), in which he declared: "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress and the people generally were inflamed by the words in the message: "Mexico has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, provided for prosecuting the war.

As in Oregon, American pioneers had already gained a foothold in California. The whole Western region was destined, no doubt, to come under the control of the United States. But it must be believed that this result could have been accomplished by other means than "goading on to

war"* a nation already weak because of internal dissension. Antislavery people bitterly opposed the war. They regarded it as a means for getting more slave territory.†

Taylor crosses the Rio Grande.

General Taylor continued to advance, and in two severe battles, Palo Alto (May 8) and Resaca de la Palma (May 9) defeated the Mexicans under General La Vega. Crossing the Rio Grande, the Americans attacked Monterey, a strongly fortified city (September 21). After three days the Mexicans were forced to capitulate.

A large part of Taylor's army was then transferred to the command of General Winfield Scott, who had been made chief in command, with orders to capture Vera Cruz and then advance to the City of Mexico. With his small force, Taylor repulsed five times as many Mexicans under Santa Anna at Buena Vista (February 22, 23, 1847).

The war in New Mexico and California.

In the meantime, General Stephen Kearny led his army of about 2,000 from Missouri, a distance of 900 miles, and captured Santa Fé without firing a gun (August 18, 1846). He established a civil government and declared New Mexico annexed to the United States. He then set out to take possession of California. Before his arrival, some 300 American settlers in California, although not aware of the outbreak of war, had revolted and set up their standard of independence, the "bear flag" (June 14, 1846). They were assisted by John C. Frémont, who was on an exploring expedition. Aided by a fleet under Commodore Sloat and later under Commodore Stockton, the conquest of California was completed.

City of Mexico captured

Early in the year 1847, General Scott captured Vera Cruz, and then marched toward the capital city. Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and other desperate battles added to

* Rhodes, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, I, 87.

† Their views were expressed by Lowell in the *Biglow Papers* as follows:

"They just want this Californy
So's to lug new slave States in;
To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
An' to plunder ye like sin."

the list of American victories over a valiant foe under the leadership of inferior officers. American soldiers showed splendid ability as fighters. General Scott was pronounced "the most consummate commander of the age." Among his subordinate officers were Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and other young men who then won their first laurels.

The Wilmot Proviso.

Scarcely had the war begun when the President applied to Congress for $2,000,000 in order to negotiate a peace with Mexico (August 4, 1846). Santa Anna was to be the agent for bringing this about.* The slavery question came at once into the discussion; for Northern anti-slavery men were opposed to adding any more slave territory. David Wilmot offered an amendment to the appropriation bill, the so-called "Wilmot Proviso," which provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any territory acquired from Mexico." The bill was lost in the Senate. During the next session an appropriation of $3,000,000 was made for the same purpose. Supporters of the principle of the Wilmot Proviso strove, without success, to have it included in the act. Questions involving slavery were thereafter to be the leading issues in politics, and the spirit of sectionalism grew apace.

Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 1848.

N. P. Trist, sent by Polk, accompanied Scott's army to make terms as soon as the submission of Mexico was accomplished. Attempts to negotiate prior to the capture of Mexico City failed. Although Trist had been notified of his recall, he entered into negotiations with the Mexican Commissioners which resulted in the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Mexico relinquished all claim to territory north of the Rio Grande to the border of New Mexico. The boundary line was then to extend to the

* "They wanted a small war, just large enough to require a treaty of peace, and not large enough to make military reputations, dangerous for the Presidency." Benton, Thirty Years in the United States Senate, II, 680.

Gila River, thence to the Colorado, and west to the Pacific Ocean. For this area the United States was to pay Mexico $15,000,000 and assume the claims of American citizens against Mexico amounting to about $3,000,000.* The treaty was ratified by the Senate, March 10, 1848.

Was slavery to exist in the territories?

The extension of slavery into these areas was made an issue in Congress when the question of organizing territorial governments for Oregon, New Mexico, and California was under consideration. While under Mexican control, the territory acquired from that nation had been free.† Numerous solutions were offered: (1) It was proposed to extend the line 36° 30′, north of which slavery was to be excluded, to the Pacific. (2) The Wilmot Proviso was advocated. (3) Calhoun declared that Congress had no right to pass a law which should "deprive the citizens of any of the States of this Union from emigrating with their property into any of the territories of the United States." (4) Senator Lewis Cass, of Michigan, advocated the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," then recently announced, which proposed that slavery or no slavery should be determined by the people of the territories. The question of slavery in the Mexican cession became the principal issue in the campaign of 1848. A bill finally passed both Houses establishing a territorial government for Oregon under which slavery was prohibited.

Presidential nominations, 1848. The Whigs.

Henry Clay was again the natural leader of his party, but he was opposed by the antislavery Whigs of the North. General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, was a slaveholder, but had made no declaration of his principles and was deemed "safe." He was nominated for President and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President. The hope for Whig success rested chiefly on the military reputation of their candidate.

* The area of Texas was 376,000 square miles. The area of the Mexican cession amounted to 546,000 square miles.

† Mexico abolished slavery in 1829.

The Democrats.

The Democratic National Convention was called on to decide between two factions in New York, the "Hunkers" and "Barnburners" each having sent delegations.* Both finally withdrew from the convention. The Democrats placed in nomination General Lewis Cass, a conservative, popular leader who advocated the doctrine of *popular sovereignty*. The convention refused to state definite views on slavery; for the Democrats feared, as did the Whigs, that their forces might be divided over such an issue.

The Free-soil party

The Barnburners were willing to help defeat Cass, a personal enemy of Van Buren, by seceding from the Democratic party; and in a convention in which delegates from four other States besides New York were present, they placed Van Buren in nomination for the Presidency. Many antislavery Whigs and Democrats were displeased with the non-commital attitude of their parties on slavery extension, and so these united with the Barnburners to form the Free-soil party. Delegates from eighteen States assembled at Buffalo, and also nominated Van Buren for President.

The Liberty party abandoned abolition for the more practical policy exclusion of slavery, and also united with the Free-Soilers. "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men" were the watchwords of the party. The large vote received by Van Buren in New York was sufficient to turn the thirty-six electoral votes of that State to the Whig candidates. Of the electoral votes, 163 were for Taylor and Fillmore and 127 for Cass and Butler.†

* The name "Hunker" was applied to the non-committal wing of the party because the members were said to "hunker" for office.

"Barnburners" was a name given to the more radical section because they were so determined to carry out their views that they resembled the man, as one of their leaders said, "who burned his barn in order to destroy the rats which infested it." They now opposed slavery in the territories. Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, 229.

† The Free-Soilers cast 120,510 votes in New York. Their total vote was 291,263.

President Taylor's problems.

When Taylor became President he found a number of problems demanding prompt attention. Discord and sectional feeling were increasing. Northerners were growing steadily less tolerant of Southern views on slavery. They were aroused over the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. The Fugitive Slave Act (1793) had not been effective and the South was demanding a new law. Texas claimed that part of New Mexico which lay east of the Rio Grande. But the most immediate need was a definite policy relative to the government of territory acquired from Mexico.

Organization of government in California.

Gold was discovered in the valley of the Sacramento River (January 24, 1848). Soon, all other occupations in California were nearly deserted, and thousands of people from all parts of the civilized world flocked to the gold fields. The "Forty-niners" (1849) numbered over 80,000. Some crossed the plains by wagon to South Pass, and then proceeded along the California trail (see p. 296). Their sufferings were extreme, many dying of starvation. Others rounded Cape Horn in all sorts of vessels, while still others crossed the Isthmus of Panama and then took ship for San Francisco.

Their only laws were those framed by the miners themselves. Delegates in a convention (September, 1849) drew up a constitution in which slavery was prohibited, and application was made for admission into the Union as the State of California.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. 1850.

The rush of population to California revived the consideration of the question of an Isthmian canal. Complications arose between Great Britain and the United States over the control of the Nicaragua route. Finally, a treaty was concluded between Secretary of State, Clayton, and the British Minister, Bulwer, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (April 19, 1850). It was agreed that neither nation should obtain exclusive control over the Nicaraugua route and that they should not "occupy, colonize, or exercise dominion over" Nicaraugua, Costa Rica or any part of Central America. A general principle was

also asserted whereby these nations agreed also to "extend their protection, by treaty stipulations to other practicable communications" across the isthmus.

The admission of California before Congress.

In the meantime, scenes of intense excitement had occurred in the organization of the Thirty-First Congress. Threats of disunion were frequently uttered by Southern Representatives. "I do not then hesitate," said Robert Toombs, of Georgia, "to avow before this House and the country and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico . . . and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia . . . I am for disunion." Northern Representatives asserted that dissolution of the Union would be steadfastly resisted.

Equal numbers of free and slave States.

Florida (1845) and Texas in the same year; Iowa (1846) and Wisconsin (1848) had come into the Union, thus making fifteen free and fifteen slave States. Should California be admitted as a free State the *balance* in the Senate would be in favor of the North. This the South was determined to resist; for there was no other slave territory which might then be admitted.

Clay's resolutions, 1850.

The Senate became the center of the contest. Clay, after eight years of retirement, was again a member of that body, and he undertook, through compromise, to stop the agitation that endangered the Union. He was well suited to play the rôle of "Great Pacificator," for, while he was himself a slaveholder, he advocated gradual emancipation. His sympathies were National, and he was at that time closely bound by no party ties. He still showed great mental powers, although seventy-three years of age and physically weak. In a conciliatory speech he proposed the following resolutions: (1) To admit California with her free constitution; (2) to organize New Mexico and Utah as territories without provision as to slavery; (3) to pay Texas to give up her claims on New Mexico; (4) to enact a more effective fugitive slave law; and (5) to abolish the slave-trade, but still permit slavery, in the District of Columbia.

Discussion on the resolutions.

These resolutions, combined in a single measure, the so-called "Omnibus Bill," became the absorbing topics for debate in Congress and for discussion in the press and by the people of the entire country during a period of seven months.

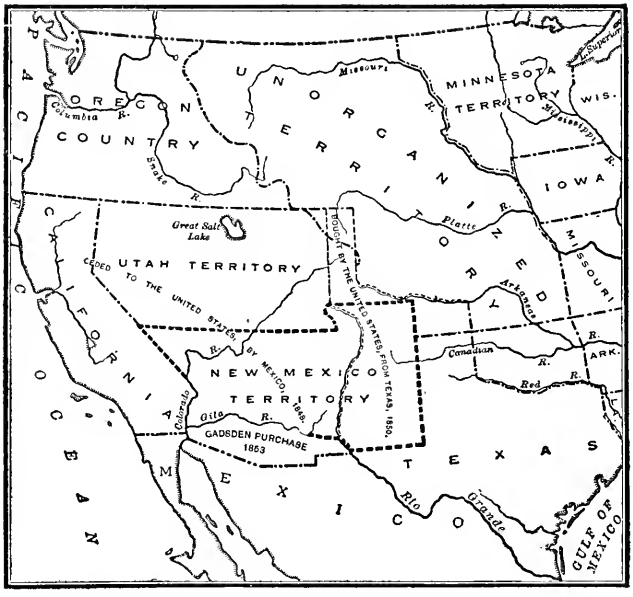
The last speech of Calhoun constituted a dramatic incident in the debate (March 4). For some time his health had been failing. Assisted in reaching his seat in the Senate, he was too feeble to deliver the speech he had prepared, and it was read by a friend. He called attention to the general discontent in the South due to Northern agitation on the slavery question, and declared that disunion was certain to follow unless the North should concede to the South "an equal right in the acquired territory;" should "do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be fulfilled; and cease the agitation of the slave question."

Webster, in his "Seventh-of-March speech," regarded by himself as the most important of his life, alienated large numbers of his former supporters. He maintained that it was not necessary to exclude slavery from this territory through legislation, since by the "law of nature," it was already excluded. He opposed the application of the Wilmot Proviso because it offended the South, and criticised the North for not returning escaped slaves. That his motive was to win favor with the South has not been established. Webster, while an opponent of slavery, believed that the cause of union would be best promoted by supporting Clay's compromise scheme.*

William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, were two notable leaders of the "Conscience Whigs." Both opposed any compromise on a question of right. Seward declared that the Constitution devoted the domain "to union, to justice . . . to liberty. But there

* Webster never regained his political prestige. The speech was commended by Southerners, but they declined to support him for the Presidency two years later.

is a 'higher law' than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purpose." *



Western Part of the United States, in 1850

The Compromise of 1850.

The "Omnibus Bill" was defeated, but separate measures were passed which really embodied Clay's plan. (1) The Texas boundary was settled and that State received $10,000,000 to surrender its claim on New Mexico. (2) California was admitted as a free State. (3) New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories, the question of slavery or no slavery to be determined by their constitu-

* Seward was called "traitor to the Constitution" for his *higher law doctrine*, which was interpreted by some of his opponents as signifying the nullification of the Constitution.

tions when they should apply for admission as States. (4) A fugitive slave law was passed. (5) Slave-trade in the District of Columbia was abolished.

In the midst of the debate occurred the death of President Taylor. He had been under the influence of Seward and had opposed the Compromise. Vice-President Fillmore succeeded him, and signed the last of the bills (September 20, 1850).

Effects of the Compromises. The Fugitive Slave Act.

After the months of strife the passage of the Compromise of 1850 brought a feeling of relief. Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, and other leaders urged its acceptance. Men from all parties, in public meetings, endorsed it and denounced further agitation. But this spirit of acquiescence was marred by the hostility manifest in the North toward the Fugitive Slave Law. Radical antislavery people denounced it as "unconstitutional, immoral, and unchristian." Among other harsh features of this act were the following: The testimony of a fugitive was denied and he was forbidden to have trial by jury; any citizen might be called upon to assist in arresting runaway slaves. The execution of the law was forcibly resisted in a number of States. A case that produced intense excitement throughout the country grew out of the rescue of a fugitive, named Shadrach, in Boston (1851). During the trial before the United States Commissioner, a crowd of negroes rushed through the court-room bearing the prisoner with them.* He made good his escape to Canada.

"Personal liberty laws."

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law became manifest in the increased number of "personal liberty laws" passed by Northern State legislatures. Their main purpose, prior to 1850, was to prevent the removal of free negroes to the South on the plea that they were fugitives. A num-

* Resistance in Boston and other cities was fostered by groups of influential white men organized as "Vigilance Committees." One of the leaders in the Boston committee, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in "Cheerful Yesterdays," 132–166, relates numerous incidents connected with their work.

ber of legislatures now extended their application. They forbade keeping runaways in State prisons; imposed heavy penalties on State officers who should aid in their arrest; provided counsel for the defence of fugitives; and were really attempts to nullify the Fugitive Slave Law.

"Underground railroad."

Fugitives were aided in making their escape to Canada by the "underground railroad." The name was applied to the system by which runaways were concealed from their pursuers, and, in due time, were sent on to the next *station*. Buffalo, Cleveland, and Detroit were the leading *terminals*. There were over 1,500 *conductors* in Ohio alone. According to the census of 1850, 1,011 fugitives escaped in that year, but the number was probably greater.

Harriet Beecher Stowe
Drawn from a photograph by Sarony

Uncle Tom's Cabin.

In the spring of 1852 Uncle Tom's Cabin was published, and, within a year, 300,000 copies were sold in this country alone. This novel, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a powerful protest against the whole system of slavery, and it influenced public opinion at the North profoundly. Rufus Choate is reported to have said: "That book will make two millions of Abolitionists."

Presidential election, 1852.

What attitude would the political parties assume toward these questions in the campaign of 1852? The Democratic Convention, after a prolonged contest, nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, thus passing by such leaders as Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan. The selection was a surprise, for the nominee was little known. He had been two terms in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate, and had served as Brigadier-General during the Mexican War. In the Whig

Convention, General Winfield Scott, on the fifty-third ballot was victor over Fillmore and Webster. Both parties asserted their satisfaction with the Compromise of 1850 and deprecated "further agitation of the question thus settled."

The "Free Democratic party" (Free-Soil party) was outspoken in its demands for "no more slave States, no slave territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." They nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, for President.

Of the 296 electoral votes, Pierce and William R. King of Alabama received 254; Scott and Graham receiving only 42.* The Whig party never recovered from this defeat. The outcome shows the desire on the part of men at the North to maintain party integrity and to preserve the Union, and a comparative indifference of the great majority to questions of slavery.

Travellers of the time wrote of the charm of Southern society to be found within the circle of the great planters, but called attention to the incubus of slavery upon the industrial development of the South. In 1850, the slaves numbered 3,200,000, the property of 347,000 persons. About 175,000 of these slaveholders owned fewer than five slaves each, and the great mass of the slaves belonged to some 7,500 men, each holding more than 50 slaves.† The "poor whites" of the South, about 2,500,000, in number, were forced to eke out an existence by cultivating the worn-out and waste lands.

Southern industries and slavery.

Cotton had become, by 1850, the leading export of the country. It was maintained at the South that without slavery the demand for this product could not be met, and that their prosperity would be sacrificed. But each year the

* Of the popular votes, the Democrats had 1,601,474; the Whigs 1,386,580, and the Free Democrats 156,667.

† There were nine men who owned between 500 and 1,000 slaves each, and two 1,000 and over. It was upon the large plantations that the worst abuses of the system were to be found, where the slaves were frequently under the direction of hired overseers whose salaries depended on the size of the crops produced.

South was becoming less able to keep pace with the progress of the age. With slave labor there could be little of that diversification of industry so characteristic of the North, and even agriculture was carried on at a disadvantage. A careful observer declared that a day laborer at the North was able to perform as much work as two slaves, and that his food, clothing, and lodging were vastly better.* The South was dependent on the Northwest for large amounts of its food supplies; and the great natural resources of the South, the iron and coal-fields, forests, and water-power had been little exploited.† About one-fifth as much money was invested in manufactures in the South as at the North. The value of Northern exports exceeded that of Southern exports by $60,000,000 (1855), and the imports of the North were ten times as great as were those of the South. Of the 24,500 miles of railroad in the United States in 1857, the South had only 6,800 miles.

Immigration. Slavery degraded labor, and the thousands of immigrants coming from European countries unable to compete with it, found homes in the North. Prior to 1842, the largest number of immigrants entering the United States in a single year had not exceeded 100,000. After 1848, the numbers coming each year were greatly increased, due chiefly to the terrible famine in Ireland (1846 and 1847) and to the political upheavals in Germany and some of the other European countries. Besides, it was easier "to get on in the world" in America, and the influx of European immigrants continued until 1861. The largest number that came in a single year was 428,000 (1854), and the total number entering during the nine years after 1851 was 2,579,000; 1,713,251 had come between 1841 and 1850.

Education in the South. There was a general lack of intellectual progress at the South; for while there were many private schools, academies, and girls' seminaries of good rank for the families

* Olmsted, Cotton Kingdom, I, 134; II, 239.

† In 1907, about one-seventh of the mineral production of the country came from the Southern States, and the forests yielded an income of $300,000,000, an income exceeded by that from cotton alone. See *The World's Work*, Vol. 14, 8941–8943.

of the large planters, the public school system was little developed. According to the census of 1850, there were 62,400 schools of this grade with 2,800,000 pupils at the North, and in the South 18,500 schools, attended by 582,000 pupils.

Demands of the South.

The attitude of the South toward the problems incident to the system of slavery has been well defined by a recent Southern writer. "Economically, it demanded," he said, "that the fewest possible restrictions be placed upon the exchange of its two or three staple products for the products of other countries, and that it be permitted to extend itself constantly to fresh lands. Politically, it demanded protection from criticism and from social and humanitarian reforms and changes." * With the low tariff of those times, commercial restriction had ceased to be a grievance (as it had been twenty years earlier). But the demand for fresh lands through the extension of slave territory was being met by growing opposition at the North The spirit of humanitarian reform was growing fast in the North and the slaveholders were being held up to the world as supporters of a "barbarous" institution. It was merely a question of time when these two points of contest between the North and South would largely remove the indifference to slavery questions in the North; would break down Northern allegiance to the Democratic and Whig parties, and so sectionalize the country.

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2. Which nation had the better claim to Oregon in 1846? Why was the settlement so peaceable? Schouler, History, IV 504–514. Burgess, The Middle Period, 311–318. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 147, 148. Garrison, Westward Extension, 157–173.

* Brown, The Lower South in American History, 57, 58.

3. The annexation of Texas and influence on politics. Clay, Am. St. Series, II, 236–268. Schouler, History, IV, 440–461; 465–486. Garrison, Westward Extension, 114–155.

4. Do you believe adequate cause existed for war against Mexico? If Mexico had been Great Britain would war have been declared? Wilson, Division and Reunion, 149. Burgess, 327–331. Rhodes, History of the United States, I, 87–93. Garrison, Westward Extension, 188–208.

5. Were the Democratic and Whig parties justified in their non-commital attitude toward slavery in 1848? For what party would you have used your influence? Why? Cass, Am. St. Series, 241–261. Garrison, Westward Extension, 294–314.

6. Discovery of gold and formation of government in California. Rhodes, History of the United States, I, 111–116. Schouler, V, 130–146.

7. Henry Clay and the Compromise of 1850. Clay, Am. St. Series, II, 323–325; 329–337. Garrison, Westward Extension, 320–332.

8. Characteristics of Webster as a man and as an orator. Rhodes, I, 137–161. McMaster, Life of Webster, 313–324. Scribner's Magazine, 15, 118–127; 25, 450–464; 26, 74–84; 213–220.

9. Webster and Calhoun in debate, 1850. Scribner's Magazine, 37, 578–586.

10. Why did Webster's Seventh-of-March speech arouse so much antagonism against him in the North? Johnston, American Orations, II, 161–201. Garrison, Westward Extension, 324–327.

11. Seward and "The Higher Law Doctrine." Seward, Am. St. Series, Chap. V.

12. Contrast between Webster and Clay as statesmen. Blaine, Twenty Years in Congress, I, 106–108.

13. Constitutional bases for the Fugitive Slave Law and the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Effects of the Fugitive Slave Act. Constitution, Art. IV, sec. 2, cl. 3; Art. I, sec. 8, cl. 17. Rhodes, History, I, 208–213; 222–226; 499–506. Higginson, Cheerful Yesterdays, 132–166. Burgess, Middle Period, 365–375. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 174–178.

14. Uncle Tom's Cabin. The author; Century Magazine, 52,

699–704. The story; Atlantic Monthly, 78, 311–321. Old South Leaflets, No. 82. Conditions which gave rise to it and influence of the work. Rhodes, History, I, 278–285.

15. Slavery and its effects. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 117–132. Rhodes, History, I, Chap. IV.

16. James and Mann, Readings, Chapter 21.

17. Bret Harte, Tales of the Argonauts and Luck of Roaring Camp (California). Eva Emery Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (life at Fort Vancouver). Whittier, Anti-slavery Poems. Lowell, Biglow Papers (first series).

CHAPTER XXII

SLAVERY EXTENSION AND SECTIONAL FEELING

PRESIDENT PIERCE, in his inaugural address, pledged himself to carry out the provisions of the Compromise of 1850. It seemed that the Democratic party, with a majority in both Houses of Congress, would be able to carry out its policy, and that the general tranquillity would be undisturbed.

The Nebraska Bill, 1854.

But a violent agitation was begun when Senator Douglas, chairman of the committee on territories, reported a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska out of that part of the Louisiana Purchase west of the States of Missouri and Iowa (January 4, 1854). According to the Compromise of 1820, slavery was excluded from this territory north of 36° 30′. It was now proposed that a State or States formed from the Nebraska territory should be admitted into the Union "with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time." With an ambition to be President and the desire, therefore, to secure the support of the South, Douglas had proposed this measure. It must be said, however, that as a radical Democrat from the West, he, with others of that region believed in the entire doctrine of local self-government.

Kansas-Nebraska Act.

On January 23, he introduced a substitute bill by which two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, were to be organized. The Missouri Compromise was declared "inoperative and void," as it had been "superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850." A provision was added, the "popular sovereignty" clause, affirming it to

be the "true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." For nearly five months the measure was discussed in Congress.*

Stephen A. Douglas

In the Senate, Seward and Chase, able opponents of slavery extension, were greatly aided in their attacks on the bill by Charles Sumner, Benjamin Wade, and Edward Everett. Chase, in a notable speech, urged the rejection of the measure, which he asserted was "a violation of the plighted faith and solemn compact which our fathers made, and which we, their sons, are bound by every sacred tie of obligation sacredly to maintain." Douglas was the "Little Giant" in its support, and never did his skill as a debater appear to better advantage. Having passed the Senate with a vote of 37 to 14 and the House by a small majority, the bill became a law (May 30).

During the progress of the discussion in Congress, the excitement among the people increased, and the crisis was brought much nearer. The act was acceptable to the South, for it contained a favor which had not been asked.

* On January 24, an appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress was published. It pertained to the original Nebraska Bill. "We arraign this bill," they said, "as a gross violation of a sacred pledge (the Missouri Compromise); as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own States, and to convert it into a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves."

Ten Northern legislatures protested against the passing of the measure; that of Illinois alone favored it. Forty-two Democrats in the House from the North refused to follow the dictation of Douglas and voted against his bill. Of the forty-four Northern Democrats who voted for it only seven were returned to the House. Thenceforth political parties were to become more sectional.

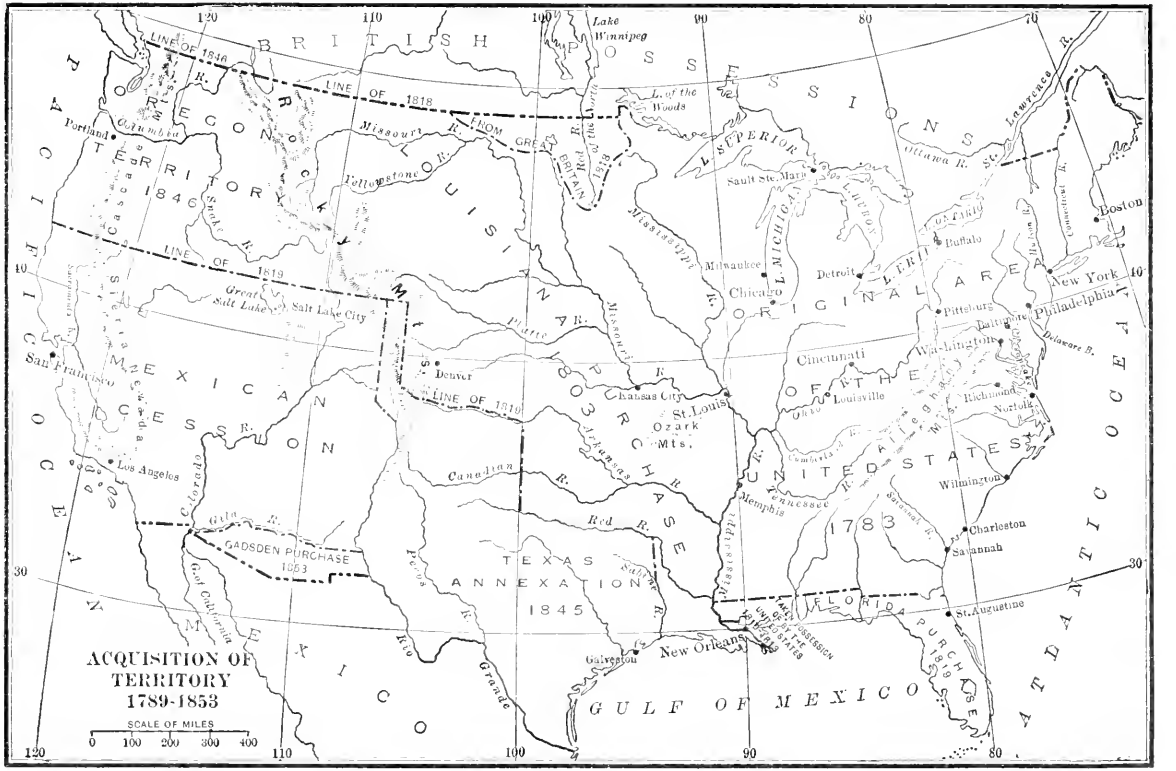
Emigration to Kansas.

The act did not state definitely when the question of slavery in a territory was to be decided by a vote of the people. Pro-slavery settlers from Missouri began at once to enter Kansas and take possession of the best lands. Large numbers of Northern emigrants were sent to Kansas, and were assisted in making homes by the New England Emigrant Aid Company and other similar organizations. Tickets on the railroads were furnished by these companies at reduced rates, and an agent was sent to take charge of these parties. Assistance was also given these pioneers in constructing mills and carrying on other improvements. By the end of the year 1855, the New England Company had sent 4,000 persons to Kansas. Pro-slavery men were alarmed at this movement, and made active preparation to elect members to the territorial legislature (March 30, 1855). On the day of the election, 5,000 armed Missourians, "border ruffians" as they were called, marched into Kansas, drove off election officers who opposed them, and carried the election by casting three-fourths of the votes. When the legislature, entirely under the control of pro-slavery men, met, it adopted a code of laws for the establishing of slavery in the territory. A denial of the right to hold slaves in Kansas was made a crime punishable by not less than two years' imprisonment.

At that time there were probably not more than 200 slaves in the territory. The emigration of slaveholders into Kansas was slow because they could not immediately dispose of their plantations. Besides, there was the chance of losing the right to hold slaves under the laws of the territory.

Free State government formed.

The Free State party paid no attention to the government, which they declared had been established through fraud, and called a convention at Topeka (October 23, 1855). A State constitution was formed which prohibited slavery. Members of the legislature and State officers were elected, and application was made to


ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY 1789-1853
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
OREGON TERRITORY 1846
LINE OF 1846
LINE OF 1818
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LINE OF 1819
FROM GREAT BRITAIN 1818
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
MEXICAN CESSION
TEXAS ANNEXATION 1845
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
FLORIDA PURCHASE 1819
TAKEN POSSESSION BY THE UNITED STATES 1819-1819
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES 1783
Lake Winnipeg
L. of the Woods
L. SUPERIOR
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
L. ERIE
L. ONTARIO
Rocky Mts.
Sierra Nevada
Cascade Mts.
Ozark Mts.
Allegheny Mts.
Portland
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Yellowstone R.
Missouri R.
Red R.
Red R. of the North
Mississippi R.
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
Sabine R.
Arkansas R.
Platte R.
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San Francisco
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New York
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Richmond
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Congress to be admitted into the Union with this Constitution. Thus two governments claimed authority in Kansas.

Civil war in Kansas.

Both parties armed for the struggle. In May, 1856, the antislavery town of Lawrence was entered and sacked by proslavery forces. Months of robbery, devastation, and deeds of violence ensued, in which men of both factions took part. National troops under requisition from the acting governor dispersed the Free State legislature when it assembled at Topeka (July 4, 1856). Order was finally restored by the aid of United States soldiers. Two hundred lives were sacrificed in this demonstration that "popular sovereignty" was a failure.

Attack on Senator Sumner.

In the meantime, the House of Representatives voted to admit Kansas with the Topeka constitution, but the Senate refused to concur. Senator Sumner, in a startling speech on the "Crime against Kansas," arraigned the whole system of slavery. He referred to Senator Butler, of South Carolina, in insulting language. Two days after, Representative Brooks, of that State, kinsman of Butler, approached Sumner, seated at his desk, and beat him about the head with a cane. Sumner did not recover fully from the assault for over three years. Brooks resigned his seat in the House, but was returned by an almost unanimous vote. Although scarcely condemned at the South, the attack was regarded at the North as brutal and cowardly, and the bitterness between the sections was greatly enhanced.

Gadsden Purchase.

The Gadsden Purchase, negotiated by James Gadsden (1853), consisted of 47,000 square miles of land directly south of the Gila River. It was acquired from Mexico by the payment of $10,000,000.

Attempts to annex Cuba.

American expansionists, exponents of the doctrine of "manifest destiny," looked toward Cuba and Central America. At the South, the acquisition of Cuba with its large slave population, was especially in favor. President Polk found Spain unwilling to enter into any negotiation for the sale of the island (1848).

Lopez, a South American adventurer, led by the report that Cuba was on the eve of revolt, planned for an invasion of the island at the head of a company of adventurers. In spite of President Taylor's proclamation against such "filibustering" expeditions, Lopez, with about 500 followers, escaped in a ship from New Orleans, and landed in Cuba (August 12, 1851). The expedition was a failure, many of the men were killed in battle, and the remainder were captured. Lopez was executed and fifty others were shot. Excitement in New Orleans grew intense when the outcome became known. Rioters broke into the office of the Spanish Consul. Congress voted $25,000 as an indemnity to Spain for the property destroyed. Prompt apology was made, and the President asked for leniency in the treatment of the other prisoners.

Cuban annexation was revived when Pierce became President. The *Black Warrior*, an American merchantman, was seized at Havana for violation of port regulations (February, 1854). Notwithstanding the efforts of extremists who urged war, chiefly with the hope of gaining Cuba, the President accepted the settlement offered by Spain.

The Ostend Manifesto 1854.

During the controversy, Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, American Ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain, respectively, were instructed to confer on the acquisition of Cuba. In their meeting at Ostend, Belgium, they drew up a paper since called the *Ostend Manifesto*. In this agreement, they declared that upon the refusal of Spain to sell Cuba at a fair price, since her continued control would "seriously endanger our internal peace" * . . . "then by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power." Marcy, Secretary of State, disavowed this scheme, a scheme which proposed a policy suited to a band of highwaymen.

Republican party organized.

After the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the call for the organization of a new party opposed to slavery extension became stronger. Such a movement was set on foot in the North-west, where party ties were less binding

* Danger of slave insurrection and dominance in Cuba would, it was feared, set an example that might be followed by slaves in the South.

than in the East, and July 6, 1854, a State mass-meeting, made up of Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Anti-Nebraska Democrats met at Jackson, Michigan.* They denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law. The name "Republican" was adopted for the "fusion" ticket which was nominated. In eight other States, four of them in the North-west, fusion candidates were also nominated on tickets called "Republican" and "Anti-Nebraska." In the elections of 1854 and 1855, the new party was markedly successful.

Know-Nothing party.

During these years of political revolution, the 'American party" also showed great strength. Its adherents, fearful of the political influence of the increasing number of immigrants, determined that no foreign-born citizen, especially a Roman Catholic, should be elected to office. All features of the organization were secret. Members questioned relative to the purposes of the party always replied: "I don't know," and thus the party came to be called the "Know-Nothings." This new issue proved particularly attractive to men who desired to escape the slavery question, and more than one-half the members of the House of Representatives in the Congress organized in 1855 were elected by this party.

Presidential election, 1856.

In the Know-Nothing National Convention (1856) Millard Fillmore was nominated for President. The Democratic Convention nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania for the Presidency and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice-President. The party platform promised allegiance to the principles of the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Seward having declined to be considered a candidate for President, the Republican Convention nominated John C. Frémont of California. One of their resolutions declared

* A meeting of men from the various parties met at Ripon, Wisconsin March 20, and recommended that a new party should be formed. The name Republican was suggested.

that Congress had both the "right and duty to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." The immediate admission of Kansas as a free State was demanded. Not since 1840 had there been a campaign so full of excitement. Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes, and Frémont 114. Frémont carried eleven of the sixteen Northern States. The popular vote for Buchanan was 1,838,169; for Frémont, 1,341,264; and for Fillmore, 874,534.

Distribution of Population in 1860

Prosperity, 1847–1857.

The decade preceding the year 1857 was one of general prosperity. Among the striking features of these good times were the rapid settlement of the West; improved means of transportation; multiplication of inventions; development of domestic and foreign commerce; growth of manufactures, and the yield of the mines of gold, lead, iron, and coal.

Growth of the West.

While the increase in the population of the country as a whole was marked, the rapid growth of the West, due in part to foreign immigration, was particularly notable. Michigan increased in numbers between 1850 and 1860 from 395,000 to 742,000; Iowa from 192,000 to 674,000, and California from 92,000 to 361,000. The population

of other Western States was doubled, and in some cases quadrupled.

Railroad transportation.

To meet the demand for greater transportation facilities incident to the rapid development of the country, the number of miles of railroad was increased from 9,021 in 1850 to 24,503 in 1857. Before 1850, seven independent but connecting short lines constituted the single-track railroad between New York and Albany, but that year one management obtained control, an event which marks the beginning of the *trunk* system. Three years afterward it was possible to travel from the Atlantic coast to Chicago by railroad. St. Joseph, Missouri, was the Western terminus of the railroad in 1859, but routes had been surveyed to the Pacific Ocean. From Boston to New York, the average rate of speed was twenty-three miles an hour. Accidents were frequent, due, in the main, to poor road beds, iron rails, and wooden bridges.

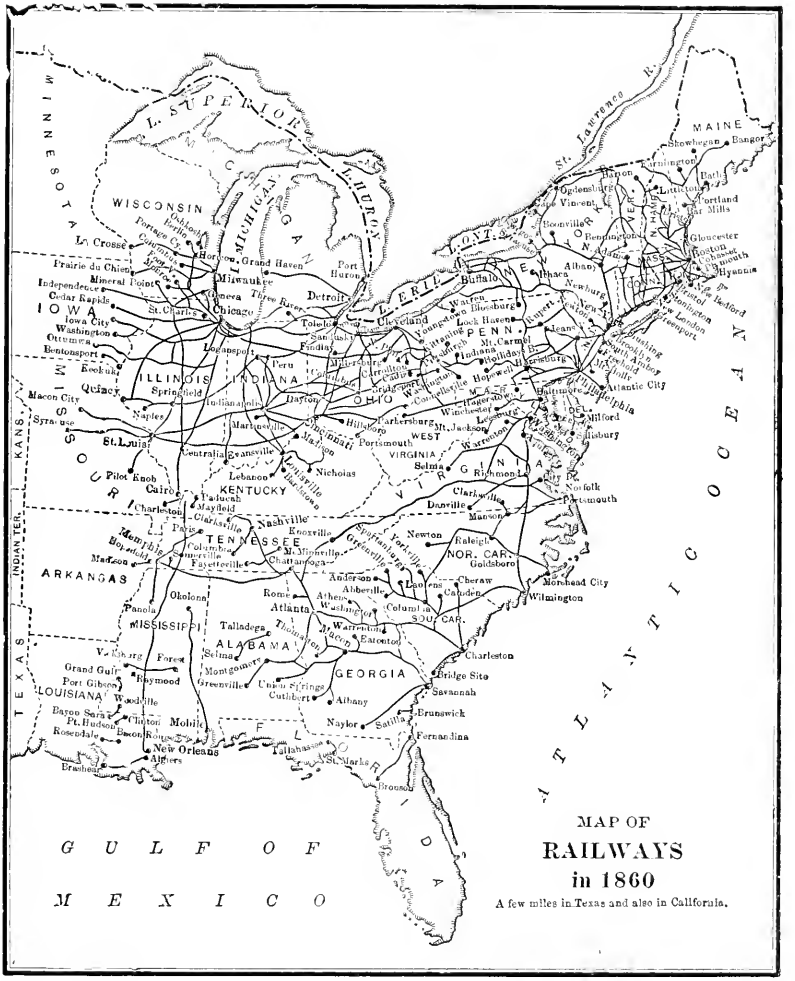
The National Government stimulated the building of railroads by making large grants of public lands to the States. The first of these grants was to Illinois as an aid in the construction of the Illinois Central from Chicago to New Orleans. Alternate sections of land on each side of the right of way to the amount of four million acres were transferred to the Company, and in return the State was to receive a certain percentage of the gross receipts of the road.

Water transportation.

Between 1851 and 1860, 2,500 vessels were constructed in the United States, the largest having a tonnage of about 4,000. During the year 1851, 800 human lives were sacrificed because of steam-boat collisions and explosions. The following year Congress provided for an inspection of steam-boats, and danger from this source was materially lessened.

Foreign trade.

The American merchant marine, made up chiefly of fast sailing-vessels, was the equal of that of any other nation. Seventy-five per cent. of our exports and imports were carried in American bottoms. Numerous



MAP OF

RAILWAYS in 1860

A few miles in Texas and also in California.

ocean-steamer lines were aided by subsidies from the Government, but this custom was generally discontinued after 1858. The famine in Ireland increased the demand for American wheat and corn. In 1846 Great Britain reduced her import tax on foodstuffs, and thereafter rapidly extended the free list. Cereals valued at $22,500,000 were sent from the United States in 1849, and of the 4,669,000 bales of cotton produced in 1860, two-thirds were exported, Great Britain furnishing the leading market.

Inventions and discoveries.

American inventive genius had never before been so active. The number of patents issued in any one year before 1849 had not exceeded 660, but during the ensuing ten years there was an average of about 2,000 a year. Among the most important of these inventions were the first usable electric fire-alarm (1852); the first successful steam fire-engine (1853); and the breech-loading rifle. About this time, Cyrus McCormick invented the harvester.

The manufacture of waterproof goods was extensive after the discovery by Charles Goodyear (1844) of a process of vulcanizing rubber. The sewing-machine invented by Elias Howe (1846) was a success from the first. Then began the transfer of the manufacture of clothing and boots and shoes from small shops to factories, a transfer which was to constitute them great industries. That year, Dr. W. T. Morton and also Dr. Charles T. Jackson demonstrated that a person might, by breathing sulphuric ether, become insensible to pain and afterward recover consciousness with no ill effects. Printing was facilitated through the invention of the revolving cylinder press by Richard M. Hoe (1847).

Manufactures.

Manufacturing developed rapidly, notwithstanding the low duties on imports. The value of American manufactures, in 1860, was nearly two billions of dollars. This expansion may be illustrated by reference to two or three typical industries. The amount of iron products doubled

in five years (1852–1857), a result due largely to the improved means of communication between the factories and the mines of iron and coal. Pittsburg was becoming a leading centre of the iron industry, and the iron mines of Michigan were being exploited. The number of spindles in the cotton-mills was 1,246,000 in 1831 and by 1860 there were five times as many. Woollen manufactures increased over fifty per cent. between 1850 and 1860.

Tariff of 1857.

From the duties on imports (1854–1856) revenue was poured into the Treasury beyond the amount necessary to cover the ordinary expenses of Government. Sales of public lands also brought in large sums, and the public debt was being decreased. Congress, early in the year 1857, passed a tariff act which reduced the average rate of duties to a little less than 20 per cent. No political party opposed the measure, and real opposition came only from Representatives of the Middle States and the North-west.

Panic of 1857.

Scarcely was this act passed before the country was in the midst of a financial crisis, the cause of which cannot be attributed to the lowering of import duties. Some features of the industrial expansion which we have been considering foretold a collapse. The output of gold from the California mines amounted in ten years to over $500,000,000, and because of the greater amount of money put into circulation prices rose and investment increased. Between 1849 and 1858, $700,000,000 were invested in the construction of railroads alone, which were frequently extended beyond the real needs of the country. The issue of bank-notes grew from $58,000,000 in 1843 to $214,000,000 in 1857 and loans by banks also increased enormously. Business on a credit basis expanded abnormally and speculation became general. In August, 1857, the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company failed, and this caused a panic in New York City which spread to other cities. Banks everywhere suspended specie payments. The Illinois Central, the Michigan Central, and a number of other railroads became bank-

rupt. During the years 1857 and 1858 business failures numbered over 9,000, with losses amounting to nearly $400,000,000, the blow falling heaviest on bankers and investors.

Normal conditions restored.

Within two years, the country had recovered from the panic. Products of fields and forests, factories and mines were enriching the Nation when the shock of civil war came. At the close of the period, gold was discovered near Pike's Peak and silver in Nevada, and in 1859 oil was found to exist in north-western Pennsylvania in quantities sufficient to make it a marketable commodity.

James Russell Lowell
From a photograph, copyright by Elliott and Fry

Americans physically and morally.

At this time there was little appreciation among Americans of the need for physical exercise and hygienic food. Rowing was practically the only out-of-doors sport then in vogue. Owing to the agitation for temperance, drunkenness was decreasing, and the Christian religion had a marked influence over the daily lives of men.

American literature.

This has been called the "golden age" of American literature. Among the great prose writers were Emerson, Holmes, Hawthorne, Lowell, and the leading poets were Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Bryant. To the list of American historians of the time, a list which included William Hickling Prescott and George Bancroft, were added the names of John Lothrop Motley and Francis Parkman. Wide political influence was wielded by Horace Greeley through the New York Tribune.

which he founded. Harper's Magazine was begun in 1850, and the "Easy Chair" became notable through the brilliant essays of George William Curtis. The illustrations were also a leading feature of the magazine. The Atlantic Monthly was founded in 1857, with James Russell Lowell as editor.

Public lecturers. Education.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, and John B. Gough were conspicuous among the men who instructed their countrymen through "lyceum" lectures on literary subjects and reform movements.

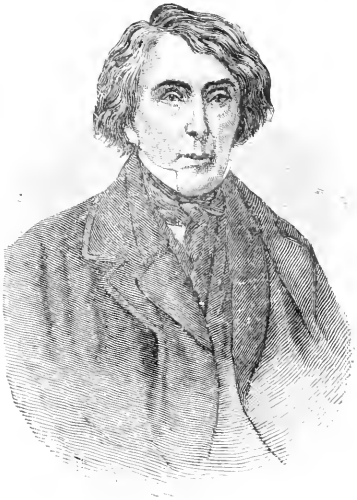
Public and school libraries were multiplied. District schools were improved through the influence of State and county superintendents. The numbers of city superintendents of schools were increased from 17 to 53 (1850–1859), and gradation in the schools was carried forward rapidly. Sixty-four public high schools had been organized in the years before 1850. By 1859, there were 108, and thereafter the increase was remarkable. Opportunity for securing a secondary education was given in 6,000 academies, the pupils in these schools numbering over 250,000.

This was a period also of most rapid increase in the numbers of institutions of higher learning. Between 1800 and 1850, 82 colleges and universities had been founded. One hundred and five institutions of this rank were established in the succeeding ten years. Coeducation obtained in a few of the colleges, but Iowa University was the first State university to admit women on terms of equality with men (1856).

The Dred Scott decision, 1857.

Early in the year 1857 agitation over slavery increased because of a decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States. Several years before, a negro, Dred Scott, had been taken by his master to Illinois and to Fort Snelling in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase. After his return to Missouri, he sued for his liberty on the ground that residence in a free territory had made him free. The case finally came before the Supreme Court. The decision delivered for the Court by Chief-

Justice Taney declared: (1) That Scott had not become free; and (2) that a slave or the descendant of a slave could not be considered a citizen of the United States with the right of suing in a Federal court. More important was the further declaration that the right of property in a slave was "affirmed in the Constitution"; that Congress had no right to legislate against this particular kind of property; and therefore, the Missouri Compromise was void, since it forbade the holding and owning of slaves in National territory. Five of the eight other judges sanctioned this opinion of the Chief-Justice. Justice Curtis held that the Court had transcended its powers in the case by deciding upon the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. "The Supreme Court of the country ranged itself squarely on the side of the South; but a mightier force than Congress, or courts, or armies was against it—the force of public opinion." *



Roger B. Taney

Kansas and the Lecompton constitution.

The controversy over slavery in Kansas was still unsettled. Emigration from North and South continued, the number of Free State men increasing most rapidly. In the election of members to the territorial legislature, the Free State party, having abandoned the Topeka government, secured a majority in both Houses (October, 1857). Five months previously, this party had refused to

* Brown. The Lower South in American History. 104

vote for delegates to a constitutional convention, and consequently the convention that met at Lecompton was proslavery. A constitution was drawn up which sanctioned slavery (November, 1857). By an unfair device it was decreed that the people were to vote for this constitution "with slavery" or for it "with no slavery." No opportunity was given to vote against the constitution as a whole, and even if "no slavery" carried, the constitution provided that the "right of property in slaves" then in the territory should not be interfered with. Free State men refused to take part in the election, and the vote stood overwhelmingly in favor of the "constitution with slavery."

The legislature then voted to submit the constitution itself to the people, and the popular vote showed a majority of over 10,000 against it. But President Buchanan had determined to force the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution and recommended this action to Congress. Douglas, standing true to his doctrine of *popular sovereignty*, in spite of threats from the administration and from Southern Democrats, attacked the Lecompton scheme as "a fraud upon the rights of the people." The bill passed the Senate, but failed in the House. Both Houses finally agreed to a measure resubmitting the question to Kansas voters. Should they accept the Lecompton constitution, the State was to receive a large grant of public lands. This attempted bribe was rejected by a decisive vote, and Kansas remained a territory until 1861.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858

The election, in Illinois, of a successor to Senator Douglas resulted in bringing Abraham Lincoln, who was the candidate of the Republicans, prominently before the country. With confidence in his cause, Lincoln challenged Douglas to meet him in a series of joint debates, and seven places for such meetings were selected.

Lincoln was then the most eminent jury lawyer of Illinois, but was little known outside the bounds of the State. He had served in the Illinois Legislature four

terms. Elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1847, he showed his opposition to slavery by voting, as he himself said, "in favor of the Wilmot Proviso in one way and another about forty times." His powers of analysis, his ability to state problems clearly, and his ready wit made him an effective speaker with the people. Douglas was the best known public man in the country, and the ablest debater in the Senate at the time.

In accepting the nomination, Lincoln had stated his convictions in the famous words: "In my opinion, it [agitation against slavery] will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the House to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, . . . or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South." *

Douglas's Freeport doctrine.

Thousands of people attended the joint debates. The climax was reached at Freeport when Lincoln adroitly inquired whether the people of a territory, "in any lawful way," could exclude slavery from its limits before admission. In reply, Douglas reasserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty and declared that the legislature of a territory might by "unfriendly legislation" prevent the introduction of slavery. This so-called Freeport doctrine meant the repudiation of the Dred Scott decision; for, as Lincoln said, "the territorial legislature can do no more than Congress can do." † Douglas was elected to the Senate, but he had lost the prize he sought, the Presidency; for his influence over the Southern democracy was gone.

* Urged by his friends to omit this statement, he replied: "The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech then let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."—Herndon, Life of Lincoln, pp. 398, 406.

† Statement made in the debate at Jonesboro.

The defeat of Buchanan's Kansas policy in the fall elections of 1858 was decisive. Douglas was the only Northern Democrat returned to the Senate, and a Republican was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. In a speech made at Rochester, Seward also took a stand which was to make him a leader of public opinion. After contrasting slavery with freedom he declared: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding Nation or entirely a free-labor Nation."

Election of 1858.

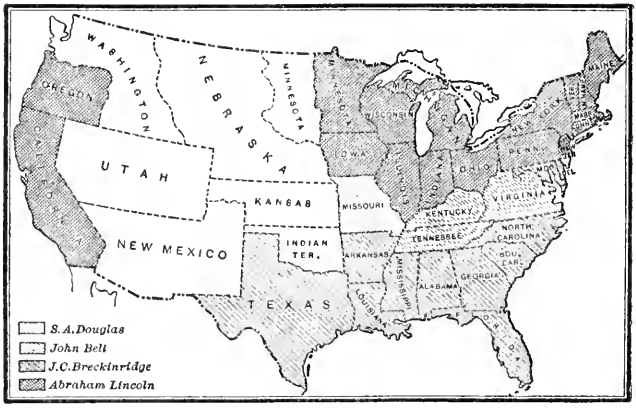
John Brown

The report that John Brown, with his twenty-two followers, had seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry (October 16, 1859) aroused the entire country. As a leader in Kansas, Brown had freed a number of slaves by force, and now he proposed to bring about the total destruction of slavery. His plan was to advance from a spot in the Virginia mountains with a small company of men, liberate slaves and arm them or send them to Canada. In this way, with an enlarged force he thought to make slaveholding insecure, and thus the owners would be ready to give up all their slaves.

John Brown and Harper's Ferry 1859.

Prominent antislavery leaders assisted him with money. The scheme to attack Harper's Ferry was unknown to them, and was disapproved by his two sons and all of his other men. In defending themselves against the militia which had been hastily summoned, a number of men on both sides were killed. Four of Brown's followers escaped, and the survivors were made

prisoners by United States troops. In a fair trial, Brown was found guilty and was ordered to be executed on the charge of treason and conspiracy "with slaves and others to rebel and murder." The act was that of a man who had brooded so long over freeing the slaves that his mind had become unbalanced on that one question. At the South, it was believed that the deed was the outcome of the teachings of the "Black" Republican party. That party in its National Convention condemned the deed as "among the gravest of crimes." Emerson expressed the thought of the men of more extreme views when he declared: "I wish we might have health enough to know virtue when we see it and not cry with the fools, 'madman' when a hero passes."



Election map of 1860

The Election of 1860.

Thirty-three States took part in the Presidential election of 1860, Minnesota having been admitted to the Union (1858) and Oregon (1859). No National Convention ever excited greater interest than that of the Democratic party which assembled at Charleston (April 23, 1860), with a majority of the delegates in favor of Douglas for President. Southern men demanded the platform which declared that citizens might take their property into a territory without the right to such property being impaired by any legislation; and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to

protect, when necessary, the "rights of persons and property in the territories." Northern Democrats refused to go farther than to pledge support to the Dred Scott decision or any other decision of the Supreme Court, an indefinite statement which left them free to advocate squatter sovereignty. Unable to carry their point, most of the Southern delegates withdrew. After fifty-seven indecisive ballots, the Convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore, June 18. In the Baltimore Convention another secession of Southern Democrats took place, and the split in the party was complete. Douglas was then nominated. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was made the candidate of Southern Democrats for President.

Split in the Democratic party.

The "Constitutional Union party," made up chiefly of men who were drawn from the remnants of the "Know-Nothings" in the South and Whigs in the North, in their convention nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for the Presidency. "No political principle was to be recognized," they declared, "other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

The Constitutional Union party.

There was great enthusiasm in the Republican Convention which met at Chicago (May 16, 1860). The platform adopted declared against the Dred Scott decision and the principle of popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Act. While there was to be no interference with the domestic institutions of any State, the right to give legal existence to slavery in a territory was denied. Of the candidates, Seward was at first most in favor. For Republican success, it was necessary to name a man who could carry Pennsylvania and one of the other doubtful States, Indiana, Illinois, or New Jersey, and it was seen that Seward, who was regarded as a "reckless"

Republican platform and nominations.

radical, could not do this. On the third ballot, Abraham Lincoln was nominated. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President.

Abraham Lincoln elected.

The campaign, with its torchlight parades and mass-meetings, was one of most intense excitement. The Republicans carried every Northern State except New Jersey, which gave 4 electoral votes to Lincoln and 3 to Douglas. Of the electoral votes 180 were for Lincoln, 72 for Breckinridge, 39 for Bell, and 12 for Douglas. Lincoln and Hamlin received 1,866,452 votes; Douglas, 1,376,957; Breckinridge, 849,781, and Bell, 588,879.

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6. Growth of the factory system, 1850–1860. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 160–167. Wright, Industrial Evolution, 133–142.

7. Railroad extension, 1830–1860. Coman, Industrial History, 234–241.

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13. James and Mann, Readings, Chap. 22.

14. G. C. Eggleston, Dorothy South (Virginia just before the Civil War). A. W. Tourgée, Hot Plowshares (antislavery). Winston Churchill, The Crisis.

CHAPTER XXIII

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

The attitude of Buchanan toward threatened secession.

THREATS of secession in the event of Lincoln's election had been freely made, but they were not taken seriously in the North. Much significance attached to the attitude and policy of President Buchanan during the four remaining months of his term. He was at first under the influence of certain advisers in his Cabinet who sympathized with the secession movement. His position was now extremely weak and vacillating. In his message to Congress (December 3, 1860) the President denied the constitutional right of secession; but he also denied that the National Government had a right to coerce a State. He said that as yet the Southern States had no just cause for seceding; but, if the Northern States did not repeal their personal liberty laws, then revolutionary resistance to the Government would be justifiable.

The secession of South Carolina and six other States.

In Congress efforts were made to compromise the disputed slavery questions, but no general agreement was reached. "The difficulty was that the Republican leaders were themselves opposed to any compromise and the Southern leaders really desired none." * On December 20, a convention called by the Legislature of South Carolina repealed the ordinance by which that State had ratified the United States Constitution, in 1788, and declared that the State was again a "free and independent nation." This action was followed by the adoption of similar seces-

* Chadwick, Causes of the Civil War, 176. Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, was prominent in proposing compromise measures.

Abraham Lincoln

From a photograph by Brady, taken at the time of his speech at Cooper Institute, New York, in February, 1860. Mr. Lincoln said that this speech and the portrait here reproduced made him President

sion ordinances by conventions in Mississippi (January 9, 1861), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1).

The arguments and causes stated in justification of the legal right of secession were drawn from Calhoun's teachings. They were well set forth in South Carolina's ordinance,* and were answered by Lincoln in his inaugural address of March 4, 1861.† From these two documents, then, we may draw a fair summary of the points in dispute.

The argument for State sovereignty and the right of secession.

1. As to the origin and nature of the State and National governments, it was argued that (a) by the Declaration of Independence each colony became a free and independent State, and that each exercised its separate sovereignty; (b) under the Articles of Confederation each State retained its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence"; (c) by the treaty of 1783 the freedom and sovereignty of the separate States were acknowledged; (d) the adoption of the Constitution was merely the forming of a compact, the General Government being the common agent of the sovereign States, having powers that were limited to the express terms of the grant; (e) in every compact "the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other."

The argument for National sovereignty.

To this argument Lincoln replied that (a) the Union is older than the Constitution. Originating in 1774, it was strengthened by the Declaration of Independence and by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation It was made "more perfect" by the Constitution. (b) "Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to say that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination." (c) If the Constitution were a

* American History Leaflets, No. 12.

† American History Leaflets, No. 18 and Old South Leaflets, No. 11.

mere compact, it could not be legally broken by less than all the parties who made it. (d) Therefore, no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully withdraw from the Union.

Grievances of the South.

2. As to the causes leading to secession, the ordinance of South Carolina stated that (a) fourteen of the Northern States had deliberately refused to fulfill their Constitutional obligations with reference to fugitive slaves by obstructing Federal laws and passing laws calculated to nullify them. (b) The North had violated the spirit of the Constitution by denouncing slavery as sinful; by permitting abolition societies to flourish; by denying the right of slave property in territories; by admitting negroes to citizenship; and, finally, by forming a sectional party and electing to the Presidency a man who believed that slavery could not permanently endure in America. (c) In consequence, the equal rights of the Southern States would be lost. "The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy."

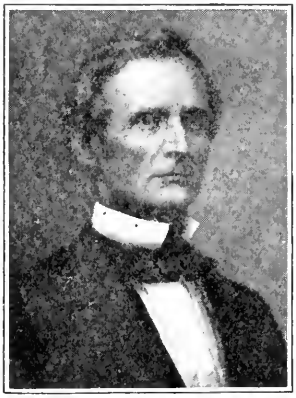
The Northern view.

Answering these statements, Lincoln declared that (a) the slavery questions upon which Northerners and Southerners differed must be decided by majorities. If the minority were not satisfied with the decisions, their only alternative was revolution. (b) The Republicans had no intention to interfere with slavery in any State; on the contrary, they had recommended a Constitutional amendment providing that the Federal Government should never interfere with it there.

Active preparations for war made in the seceding States.

During the months when secession was contemplated and accomplished, the authorities of the seceding States seized nineteen forts and seven arsenals situated within their borders, together with vast amounts of arms and ammunition belonging to the United States Government. Only four forts remained in the hands of Federal troops: Sumter, in Charleston harbor; Taylor, at Key West; Jefferson, at

Tortugas; and Pickens, at Pensacola. At the same time Southern State legislatures organized armies and appropriated large sums of money for military purposes. In Charleston harbor, Major Robert Anderson removed his small command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, the latter being easier of defence. Work was carried on in preparation for resisting an attack; but the Government at Washington took no active measures to make Fort Sumter secure. President Buchanan even permitted himself to reply to commissioners from South Carolina who demanded its surrender. In January a weak attempt was made to reënforce Sumter; instead of sending a man-of-war the Government dispatched the *Star of the West*, a merchant vessel, with provisions and recruits from New York. This was fired upon from Fort Moultrie and turned back.



Jefferson Davis
From a painting in the Westmoreland Club, Richmond, Va., by permission

The formation of the Confederacy.

On February 4, 1861, delegates from the seven seceding States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and drew up a provisional constitution for the "Confederate States of America." They elected Jefferson Davis President, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. A permanent constitution was later adopted, and this went into effect in 1862.

The Confederate Constitution.

The Confederate Constitution was modelled upon that of the United States. But it provided expressly for the sovereignty of the States; forbade protective tariffs; expressly confirmed the right of property in slaves; provided for the protection of slave property in any territory acquired; and made the President ineligible for a second election, after a term of six years. Cabinet members might debate, but not vote, in Congress, and the President might veto individual items of appropriation bills.

President Davis, previously a Senator from Mississippi, was a radical State sovereignty man; he was well qualified by political experience for his position. Alexander H. Stephens was physically almost an invalid, but by the power of a strong will he had become active and influential in the politics of Georgia. He had opposed secession, but, like many other Southerners of prominence, he considered himself bound to follow the fortunes of his State. His election was a recognition of the old Southern Whig element and of the importance of Georgia in the Confederacy. Davis and Stephens.

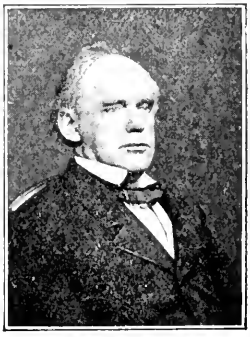
From February 4 to 27, a Peace Conference held its sessions in Washington, twenty-one States (fourteen non-slaveholding and seven slaveholding) being represented. The delegates were men prominent in public life, and ex-President John Tyler was the chairman. Recommendations were adopted for Constitutional amendments strengthening the position of slavery. But these were not accepted by Congress. The latter passed a resolution proposing an amendment to the effect that the Constitution should never authorize Congress to interfere with slavery in any State. The Republican leaders showed their conservatism in supporting this amendment, and they voted for a law organizing the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without any restriction as to slavery. The Southern leaders, on the other hand, desired no such concessions. They were either convinced that a separate slaveholding confederacy was desirable, or that the Southern States could make still better terms for slavery when out of the Union. Few believed that the North would fight to preserve the Union; as few Northerners believed that secession would be maintained by force of arms. An effort made to conciliate.

In his first inaugural address, President Lincoln skilfully turned aside the thoughts of the people from perplexing slavery questions * and centered them upon the momentous issue involved in the preservation or the dissolu- Lincoln's first inaugural, March 4, 1861.

* He stated the policy of the Republican party as his own in saying, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

tion of the Union. From his standpoint the Union was still unbroken; "acts of violence against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary." It was his sworn duty to execute the laws of the Nation and "to hold, occupy, and possess the property belonging to the Government." He stated in clearest terms the argument against the constitutionality of secession, and closed with an appeal to the better natures of his dissatisfied countrymen of the South. The inaugural tended to unify Northern sentiment, and the same effect followed the selection of the Cabinet, with Seward, formerly an antislavery Whig, as Secretary of State, and Chase, formerly an antislavery Democrat, as Secretary of the Treasury. Simon Cameron was made Secretary of War, and Gideon Welles became Secretary of the Navy.

The Cabinet.



Salmon P. Chase

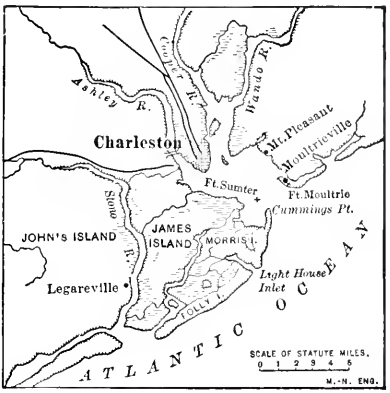
Attempt to relieve Fort Sumter.

For several weeks Lincoln made no attempt to recapture the forts that had been seized by Southern States, for fear of seeming to become the aggressor. In the meantime, provisions were running low at Fort Sumter. Lincoln finally determined that an expedition should go from New York to its relief. Thereupon the Confederate authorities decided to reduce the fort before this succor could arrive. Consequently, the early morning of April 12 saw Fort Sumter the center of fire from batteries ten times its strength in Charleston harbor. For thirty-four hours the brave garrison held out, and then made an honorable surrender.

Effects of the firing on Fort Sumter.

The effect of this event was tremendous. The firing upon the flag went far toward unifying Northern sentiment. In the South, too, there was great enthusiasm. On April 15, President Lincoln issued a proclamation

calling out 75,000 militia to suppress the insurrection. To adherents of State sovereignty doctrines, it was now certain that the sacred limits of their States were to be "invaded" by Federal troops. Consequently, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina soon withdrew from the Union.



Charleston Harbor

The secession of Virginia was of the greatest importance, on account of her rank in population and wealth and her geographical position. She carried out of the Union two of her most brilliant sons—Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. Jackson, both West Point graduates. The Confederate Government seized Harper's Ferry, the navy yard near Norfolk, and ships, cannon, powder, etc., worth $10,000,000.

The blockade and its effects.

Events now moved rapidly. President Davis issued a proclamation inviting the owners of vessels to accept letters of marque, and thus, as privateers, to prey upon Northern commerce. President Lincoln responded with a proclamation declaring a blockade of all Southern territory. It was made a crime for any person to trade with the people of the States in insurrection either by land or by water. As soon as possible vessels were stationed outside the harbors of all Southern ports to stop foreign commerce. In the course of a year or two this blockade became very effective, for, with the exception of an occasional "blockade-runner," no vessel could enter or leave a Southern port. The main source of income at the South—the sale of cotton—was now cut off, and the pro-

curing of arms and ammunition was rendered very difficult. The cotton crop, was also the basis for Confederate credit abroad, and the blockade indirectly injured the sale of Confederate bonds.

On May third a second call for troops was issued by Lincoln; this time for volunteers to enlarge the regular army. Similar calls were made by the Confederate Government. Eager responses came from both sections. The capital of the Confederacy was now moved to Richmond, and it was evident that each side would strive to capture the other's capital city.

The acknowledgment of belligerency by foreign nations.

The English Government first, and later, other European nations, announced that they recognized the Confederate States as belligerents. From their standpoint the Southern Government was not in insurrection, but was on an equal footing with the Federal Government as a party to the war. These nations would now be supposed to observe the rules governing neutrals in their relations with both sections. This action was extremely favorable to the Confederacy, and its officers hoped next to secure the recognition of its independence.

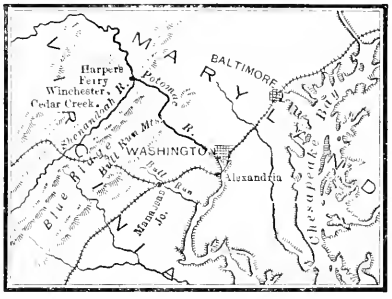
The recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent by European powers is regarded as justifiable by the best authorities, inasmuch as Lincoln's blockade proclamation virtually acknowledged that a state of war existed.* If the Confederate people were belligerents, then, from the standpoint of international law, they were not rebels and had not committed treason; consequently, if captured or conquered, they must be treated as prisoners of war and not as traitors. Such treatment was, in fact, accorded to them. In the ports of the European powers acknowledging belligerency, Confederate vessels were entitled to the same privileges as vessels of the United States navy.

The battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

There now arose throughout the North the cry, "On to Richmond." This could not be resisted indefinitely, though the army protecting Washington was yet in a raw and undisciplined state. Accordingly, on July 21, 1861,

* See Foster, A Century of American Diplomacy, 336-337. Rhodes, History of United States, III, 420, note.

a force of 30,000 troops under General McDowell moved against the Confederate army stationed at Manassas Junction, under General Beauregard. At first, the battle was favorable to the Federal troops, but in the afternoon reënforcements were brought to their opponents by rail from the Shenandoah valley. The result was defeat and a disgraceful panic that carried the Union troops back to Washington badly demoralized. The effect of this battle upon the North was salutary; it aroused their determination, and showed that discipline and thorough preparation were essential. In the South there was undue elation; the opinion that all "Yankees" were cowards was strengthened, and the general effect was anything but good.



The Vicinity of Washington

It was now evident that a great war was to follow. Let us glance at the resources and advantages upon which each side could count in the struggle. 1. The North greatly exceeded the South in both population and wealth.* This advantage was to a considerable extent offset by the fact that the North must assume the offensive, while the South was to act on the defensive.† The South also had the moral advantage accruing to the army that stands in defence of its homes, as against the troops who attempt to invade and conquer a strange country. Besides, there is

Comparison of North and South.

Population and wealth.

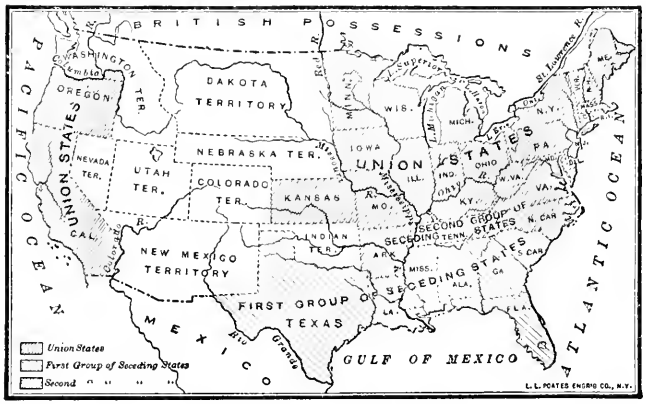
* In the eleven seceding States there lived 9,000,000 people, 3,500,000 of whom were slaves. The population of the twenty-three loyal States was 22,000,000.

† The proportion of 5:2 in population is regarded by authorities as not too large to match evenly the sections in view of this fact.

the fact in military science that the former army may operate on "interior lines," thus covering a smaller territory in their movements. The various detachments of this army may thus be in closer contact with each other than are the wings of the attacking army, and the transportation of troops and supplies becomes a simpler problem.

Industries.

2. In the number and extent of its industries, the North greatly surpassed the South. Since the latter was par-



The United States in 1861

tially dependent upon other sections for its food supply, it must to some extent change its crops; further, new industries must rise in the form of foundries, mills, and factories.

Character of people.

3. The North was a land of business men, many of them accustomed to the prompt and efficient management of large undertakings. In the South, on the other hand, we find a people showing greater aptitude for army life than were the shopkeepers, clerks, and mechanics of the North; this is accounted for by their agricultural life, their constant use of fire-arms, and their skill in horsemanship.

Commerce and navy.

4. The commerce of the North was one of its chief advantages. Its great merchant marine was at first unprotected, and, as a consequence, many vessels were captured by Confederate cruisers; the owners of many others transferred them to the flags of neutral nations. Yet facilities for converting merchantmen into war-ships and for building new ones were abundant, and a large navy was rapidly acquired. In the South, on the other hand, few vessels were owned and there were inadequate facilities for ship-building.

Government.

5. The North had the traditions and the machinery of a well-established government. On the other hand, the Confederacy had a President who was a West Point graduate, and a group of talented generals, similarly trained.

Physical geography in the East.

6. The importance of physical geography in determining the course of the war can hardly be overestimated. Speaking broadly, we may say that in the East geographical conditions favored the Confederacy, while in the West the advantage was with the Union forces. The Federal army in Virginia found a succession of broad rivers lying across their line of progress toward Richmond. Bridges were few, and rains frequently rendered their fords impassable. The Virginia swamps and forests constituted another barrier. The Shenandoah valley gave the Confederate army a great advantage. Besides its food-producing capacity, this valley formed a sheltered highway for incursions into Northern territory. These raids brought the Confederate troops dangerously near to Washington; while a counter attack by the Union troops was rendered less effective by the westward trend of the valley, which carried them farther away from Richmond as it proceeded southward. Counterbalancing to some extent the advantage of the Shenandoah valley, the North used Chesapeake Bay as a highway for moving troops and supplies toward Richmond.

In the West.

West of the mountains, broad water-ways led from Union soil into the heart of the Confederacy. By way of the

Tennessee and Cumberland rivers the first great advance was made, while the Mississippi River furnished the opportunity for cutting the Confederacy in two. These water-ways were much more effective for the movement and supply of an army than were either wagon roads or railways. The lack of river steamers, and the means of building them, in the South, gave these advantages to her opponents.

The border States.

In determining the lines along which the armies were to contend, as well as their relative strength, much depended upon the attitude of the border States. The people in Maryland, in general Southern sympathizers and at first defiant of National authority, were soon controlled by the presence of Federal troops. Physical geography determined the opposition of the western counties of Virginia to the secession of that State. Here a convention acted upon the legal theory that the State government of Virginia remained in the hands of its loyal citizens. Subsequently, a new State government was formed and admitted into the Union as West Virginia (1862).

In Missouri, the issue between the two forces was for some time doubtful. Much credit is due to Francis Blair and General Lyon for organizing the loyal citizens and finally securing control of the State government. But many battles were yet to be fought before the Confederate army was driven from Missouri. In Kentucky, a strong faction, including the Governor, wished to keep that State in a condition of "armed neutrality." But this movement was overcome by a loyal Legislature, while through the tact of President Lincoln, acts of aggression on Kentucky soil, which would have alienated many of wavering allegiance, were carefully avoided.

In all the border States, the people furnished reënforcements to both armies. The eastern sections of Kentucky and Tennessee, where slavery could not flourish on account of physical conditions, were strongly loyal to the Union. From this region thousands of troops went into the Union army.

Efforts to obtain foreign recognition.

The Confederacy strove from the beginning to gain the friendly influence of European governments, hoping to be recognized by them as an independent nation. This would result very favorably in the financial centers of Europe. It was also hoped that foreign governments would take the more radical step of intervention by force, for

the purpose of compelling the North to abandon the blockade. James M. Mason, of Virginia, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, were accredited by the Confederacy as Ministers to England and France respectively. In October, 1861, they passed through the blockade, landed at Havana, and soon after sailed for England in the British merchant vessel *Trent*. Captain Wilkes commanding a United States war-ship, overtook the *Trent* near the Bahama Islands, and forcibly removed Mason and Slidell. He then allowed the *Trent* to proceed on its voyage.

The *Trent* affair.

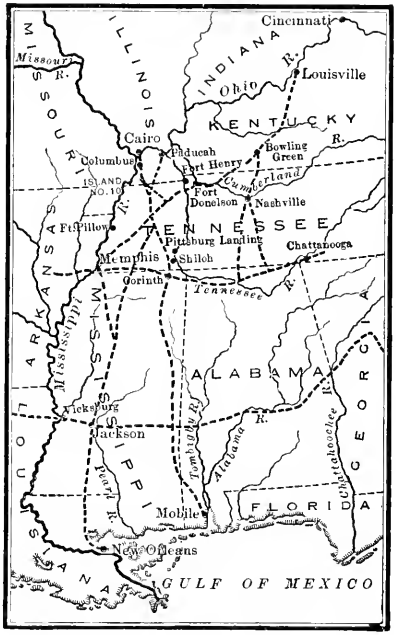
The excitement following the news of this incident was intense. In the United States Wilkes was hailed as a hero, receiving the thanks of the Secretary of the Navy and Congress. In England, both official and popular hostility were displayed, and active preparations for war were begun. The British Government demanded the release of the prisoners and an apology. Careful consideration of the case by Lincoln and Seward led them to the conclusion that Wilkes's act could not be justified. It was apparent that Mason and Slidell with their official papers might be regarded as contraband and so subject to seizure on the vessel of a neutral power. But the vessel should have been conveyed to a port of the United States, where a court of admiralty might determine the facts before seizure should be made. Wilkes had erred in not following this procedure. Since the United States Government had not authorized his act, it was now in a position to disavow it without suffering loss of dignity. The Confederate agents were therefore released. Thus a possible war that would have been disastrous to the Nation was avoided.

Its fortunate settlement.

As the result of Union successes in all of the border States, the Northern limit of the Confederacy was pushed considerably South of Mason and Dixon's line. In the West, Confederate troops held Columbus, New Madrid, and Island No. 10 on the Mississippi; also Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and Bowling Green, a railway junction in central Ken-

Operations in the West.

tucky. Union forces were stationed at St. Louis, Cairo (Illinois), and Paducah (at the mouth of the Tennessee River). From the last point, General Halleck, commanding the army in the West, ordered General Grant to proceed against the center of the Confederate line of defence. Accordingly, Grant's army was transported up the Tennessee River and, supported by a flotilla of gunboats under Commodore Foote, secured at once the surrender of Fort Henry (February 6, 1862). Fort Donelson made brave resistance, but fell soon after. The Confederate prisoners numbered 15,000.



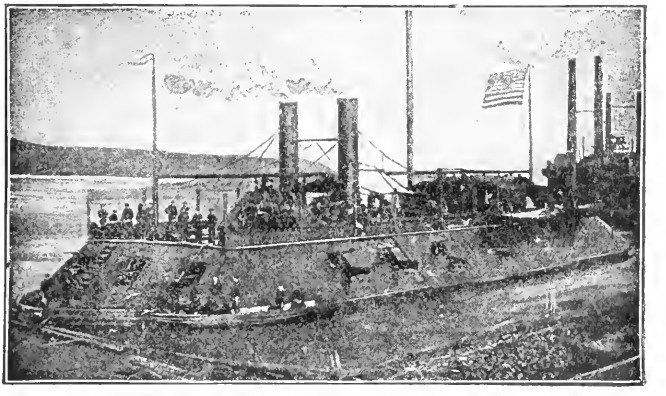
The Seat of War in the West

Union advance 1862.

This advance in the center rendered Columbus and Bowling Green untenable, and they were abandoned by the Confederates. New Madrid and Island No. 10 fell after a vigorous attack by the Union fleet. At the same time a Union army under Buell advanced to Nashville, from which the Confederates withdrew toward Chattanooga. Between Memphis and Chattanooga ran an important line of railway, and its center was held by an army under General Albert Sidney Johnston, at Corinth, where this line connected

with a north and south railway running through Mississippi.

The next advance of Grant's forces took his army to Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River. Here Johnston's army attacked him, and one of the most bloody and decisive battles of the war was fought—the battle of Shiloh, April 6–7, 1862. After a partial defeat on the first day, the Union forces, reënforced by Buell, drove the Confederates from the field on the second. General John- Battle of Shiloh.



The Cairo—A Mississippi River Gunboat
From a photograph

ston was killed during the battle and General Beauregard succeeded to the command. To say that the losses in killed and wounded on each side were not far from 10,000 men, conveys but a slight idea of the horrors attending this important victory. Corinth soon fell into Federal hands. This compelled the abandonment of Memphis, and the Mississippi River was open as far as Vicksburg.

Vigorous advance movements might now have resulted in the capture of Vicksburg and Chattanooga; but this was not to be. The first attempts against Vicksburg were unsuccessful; while much more fighting was nec-

essary* before the Confederate army under Bragg was finally compelled to withdraw to Chattanooga.

The capture of New Orleans, 1862.

In April, 1862, Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans. With his fleet of gun-boats he silenced the forts (Jackson and St. Philip) which guarded this city, and at the same time destroyed the Confederate river fleet. The loss of New Orleans was a heavy blow to the Confederacy.

John Ericsson

The *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.

At the same time progress was being made along the Atlantic seaboard, where the Federal navy seized many important points.† But disaster to the navy and danger to Washington were threatened when the Confederates constructed at Norfolk navy yard a new kind of war-vessel protected by an iron armor.‡ On March 8, 1862, this war-ship, known as the *Merrimac*, attacked and sunk in Hampton Roads two of the best vessels of the Union fleet, and on the day following returned to destroy two more steam frigates, each carrying forty guns, but utterly powerless against the *Merrimac*. By one of the most fortunate and dramatic coincidences in our history, there had arrived during the night from New York another type

* Bragg's army made a raid northward, drawing the Union army under Buell into a race back through Tennessee and Kentucky as far as Louisville. Then Rosecrans succeeded Buell, and, in turn, the Confederates withdrew southward. Later, Bragg was defeated at Murfreesboro (December 30, 1862–January 2, 1863).

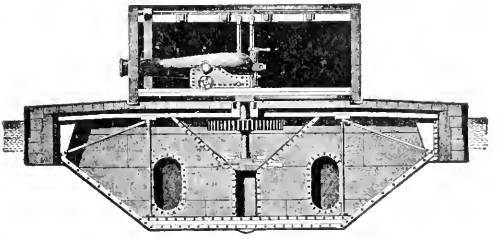
† Forts were taken at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina; and at Port Royal, South Carolina, causing the evacuation of Beaufort. Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Roanoke Island, North Carolina, were captured.

‡ England and France had previously built a few iron-clad vessels.

of iron-clad—the *Monitor*, designed by John Ericsson. Upon the low deck of a vessel an armored turret had been erected, carrying two guns and revolved by machinery placed in the hold beneath. The battle that ensued determined the superiority of this vessel over the *Merrimac*. As the result of this test of iron-clads against wooden vessels, the navies of the world had to be rebuilt.

McClellan's Peninsular campaign. 1862.

After the defeat at Bull Run, the Government called to the command of its army at Washington a young and brilliant officer who had been winning success for the Union in western Virginia, General George B. McClellan.



Transverse Section of the *Monitor* through the Center of the Turret

During the remainder of 1861 and the winter that followed, McClellan accomplished a great service in organizing and training the army under his charge. He proposed to attack Richmond by way of the peninsula between the York and James rivers. His plan was finally agreed upon, though it involved great risks; (1) because it necessitated the withdrawal of the largest part of the army from the defence of Washington, and (2) because the *Merrimac*, then at Norfolk, might threaten his communications.* Landing his army of 53,000 at Fort Monroe April, 1862, McClellan laid siege to Yorktown, where he was opposed by 11,000 Confederates under General Joseph E. Johnston. In this part of the cam-

* In May, 1862, Norfolk was captured and the *Merrimac* was sunk by the Confederates.

paign McClellan displayed his great weakness as a commander—irresolution, slowness, and continual overestimation of difficulties and of the enemy's forces. When his army, after several weeks, finally reached the vicinity of Richmond, the reënforcements that McClellan had expected to receive from Washington were denied him, for the reason that the Confederates were making a counter-demonstration down the Shenandoah valley, and all available troops were needed for the defence of Washington. McClellan regarded himself as seriously hampered. His army was now vigorously attacked by the enemy in a series of battles lasting for seven days. McClellan stubbornly resisted these attacks and skilfully conducted a retreat, at the same time changing his base from the York to the James River. Gradually the army of the Potomac, upon which the Union had fixed its hopes, was withdrawn and the Peninsular campaign ended in failure.

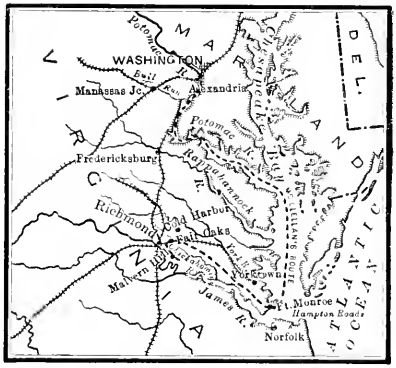
George B. McClellan
Major-General, 1861-1862

Among the important battles of this campaign were those of Mechanicsville, Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, and Malvern Hill. General Johnston, who was wounded, was succeeded by General Robert E. Lee. The latter had been an officer in the regular army of the United States and was offered the command of the Union troops before the firing on Fort Sumter. When Virginia (his native State) seceded, he reluctantly resigned his commission and entered the Confederate service.

Financial measures in support of the war.

During the closing months of Buchanan's administration, the Treasury was "practically empty, the administrative departments disorganized, customs receipts almost at a standstill, the debt increasing, and the Government's credit ebbing away." Bonds were sold as low as $85 on the $100. When Congress met in special session, July,

1861, it promptly enacted measures to meet the financial needs of the nation: (1) The Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, was authorized to borrow $250,000,000 on bonds. (2) Tariff rates were somewhat increased. (3) A direct tax of $20,000,000 was levied and apportioned among the States (Constitution, Article I, section 2, clause 3). (4) A tax on incomes (three per cent. on the excess over $800) was levied. The machinery for the collection of the new taxes had to be created, and this required time. Meanwhile there was great uncertainty as to the outcome of the war and the attitude of foreign nations. Consequently the debt increased and the Nation's credit declined.



McClellan's Campaign in Virginia, 1862

Paper money of the times.

At the outbreak of the war the money in use in the country was (1) United States coin, which, with the exception of the fractional currency, was gold; and (2) paper money issued by some fifteen hundred State banks. Several thousand varieties of these bank-notes were in circulation, a great many of which were spurious. The value of any particular kind depended upon the reputation of the issuing bank, was subject to fluctuations, and varied in different localities. The best banks, situated in the financial centres, regularly redeemed their notes in gold. The situation was complicated when, in 1861, Congress authorized the issuance of a paper currency in the form of "demand notes," which the Government undertook to redeem in gold on demand.

The suspension of specie payments.

The unstable conditions during the last months of 1861 caused the public to lose confidence in the ability or willingness of the banks and the Government to redeem their

paper currency in specie. Such quantities were presented for redemption that the stocks of gold in reserve were exhausted, and there followed the "suspension of specie payments" by both the banks and the Government. Henceforth, until 1879, the Government refused to redeem its notes in gold.

The issuance of United States Notes.

At the beginning of 1862 the Government was still in need of revenue. Congress now determined upon a radical measure—the issuance of "United States Notes," which were merely promises to pay, without stating either the form or time of payment. In order to insure the acceptance of these notes by creditors, they were made *legal tender*. Three hundred million dollars of these notes were authorized in 1862, and $150,000,000 in 1863.*

Effects of the legal tender issues.

The effects of the legal tender issues were marked: (1) The amount issued was in excess of commercial needs under the circumstances and they consequently depreciated. Gold was hoarded or exported to pay foreign debts. Paper-money prices rose with the depreciation. Higher prices stimulated production and encouraged speculation. (2) Wages and salaries rose less rapidly than prices, and many persons living upon fixed incomes suffered severely. (3) When debts contracted before the issuance of the "legal tenders" were paid in these notes, the creditors suffered loss. (4) There was almost daily fluctuation of the notes in value, depending upon the state of public confidence as influenced by battles, acts of Congress, and news from Europe.

The fractional silver currency also disappeared from circulation, and later Congress authorized the issuance of a fractional paper currency.

Bonds and internal taxes.

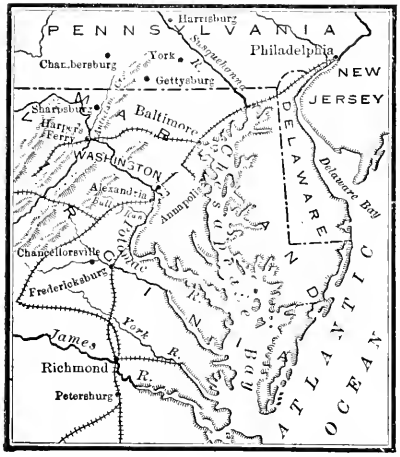
In 1862, the expenditures of the Government were $2,000,000 a day. More bonds were authorized, $500,000,000, bearing 6 per cent. interest, and payable in from five to twenty years. A wide-reaching internal revenue law was enacted (July, 1862). A multitude of manufactured articles were taxed; license fees were imposed upon citizens engaged in many occupations; corporations

* For a fuller discussion of these notes and their constitutionality, see Government in State and Nation, 212–214.

were taxed upon their gross receipts; and stamp taxes were imposed upon legal documents and proprietary articles. This law, says Rhodes, "might be briefly described . . . as an act which taxed everything."

In order that the tax burden placed upon manufacturers should not place them at a disadvantage in competing with foreign producers, a higher tariff was enacted. This stimulated manufactures and gave employment to workmen. Business was also stimulated by the Government's great demand for war materials. Congress further favored industrial conditions by providing for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean (1862); by a homestead act opening great tracts of land for settlement free of charge (1862); and by donations of land made to the States from the proceeds of which agricultural colleges were to be established.

Laws intended to stimulate industries



Campaigns in the East, 1862–1863
Lee's Invasions of the North

After the Peninsular campaign, the Union army in the East was commanded by General Pope; to this was added McClellan's army, soon withdrawn from the James River. Pope planned an attack upon Richmond from the north, but Lee, assuming the offensive, outgeneralled him in Virginia, and the Union army was defeated at the second battle of Bull Run (August, 1862). Lee then determined upon an invasion of the North. He hoped (1) to gain

Pope's campaign in Virginia and Lee's invasion.

The battle of Antietam.

reënforcements in Maryland, (2) to encourage the party in the North opposed to the war, and (3) to make a favorable impression upon European governments. But Lee was repulsed in the bloody battle at Antietam or Sharpsburg, Maryland (September 17, 1862), by McClellan, who had been restored to the Union command. Lee's army, however, was allowed to return to Virginia unmolested.

The Emancipation Proclamation.

The battle of Antietam was followed by the issuance of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862). Written some two months previously, it had been kept secret, within the councils of the Cabinet, awaiting a Union victory. The Proclamation announced that on January 1, 1863, the President would declare to be free all slaves held within the regions at that date in arms against the Union.

Policies previously pursued towards slavery.

It was the culmination of a long series of events occurring since the outbreak of the war, which had changed Lincoln's views regarding his policy toward slavery (see p. 373) and had developed public opinion at the North to the point where emancipation seemed a logical step. (1) General Butler, commanding at Fortress Monroe, had declared that fugitive slaves appearing within his lines were "contraband of war" (May, 1861), and he refused to return them to their owners. The Administration accepted this ingenious solution of the difficulty. (2) Congress passed an act (August, 1861) confiscating slaves employed by their masters in resistance to the Government. (3) Next, Congress forbade officers and troops to assist in the return of fugitive slaves. (4) Congress adopted (April, 1862) Lincoln's compensated emancipation plan whereby if any State would free its slaves the Government would grant financial assistance in the compensation of masters. No State availed itself of this offer. (5) Congress next abolished slavery in the District of Columbia (compensating masters to the extent of $1,000,000) and in all territories of the United States. (6) Lincoln had annulled orders issued by Generals Fremont and Hunter declaring free the slaves of persons in insurrection; he feared alienating friends of the Union in the border States and increasing opposition to the war in the North.* Congress now (July, 1862) declared all such slaves confiscated.

* As illustrating Lincoln's conservative policy, see Horace Greeley's Prayer of Twenty Millions and Lincoln's remarkable letter in reply. Morse's Lincoln, II, 105–110. Larned, Ready Reference, United States, August, 862.

The final Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, applied to all the seceding States except Tennessee and certain parts of Virginia and Louisiana, which were then under the control of Federal troops. Lincoln found the constitutional authority for his act in his power as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. The emancipation of the slaves seemed to him a direct and necessary means for preserving the Union. In the North the Proclamation aroused greater enthusiasm for the support of the war. Abroad, its effect was to render impossible the moral support of the Confederacy by the masses of the people.

Constitution, Article II, section 2, clause 1.

Gen. Thos. J. Jackson

The year 1862, with its military delays and failures, brought a storm of criticism upon Lincoln and his administration:—

Criticisms of Lincoln

1. The President was accused of being inefficient and lacking in vigor. The public did not yet understand his policy of awaiting events, instead of making bold announcements of policy. 2. He was accused of using unconstitutional and despotic powers in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in parts of the country distant from the seat of war. It seemed necessary to arrest and hold persons who were merely suspected of plotting against the Government. (See Government in State and Nation, 244.) Numbers of persons were arrested who, in public speeches and in newspapers, were opposing the prosecution of the war, discouraging enlistment, and encouraging desertions. In the view of Lincoln they were giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy. (Government in State and Nation, 312.) 3. Lincoln's policy toward slavery aroused much enmity both

from the Abolitionists and from those who saw no evil in slavery. The former class constituted a violent and harassing element in the Republican party.

The battle of Fredericksburg.

McClellan, instead of attacking, watched the slow retreat of Lee's army after the battle of Antietam. Finally, he was removed, and General Burnside was appointed in his place. The latter undertook a forward movement against the Confederates at Fredericksburg, on the south bank of the Rappahannock River. A mistaken plan of attack and a vain attempt to storm well-defended heights brought disastrous defeat to the Union army (December 13, 1862). Once more incompetent leadership had disappointed the North. "Grief, as great as any told in epic, in drama, or in novel, wrung their hearts at the useless sacrifice of so many noble souls." In this battle nearly 13,000 men were either killed or wounded. Such was "the horror of Fredericksburg."

Chancellorsville.

Once more the Union army was demoralized by lack of confidence in its General, and Burnside was superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who had shown good fighting qualities in previous Virginia campaigns. Lee held his army in Fredericksburg during the winter that followed, and it was May before Hooker was ready to begin a forward movement toward this point. Crossing the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg, his army, though superior to Lee's in numerical strength, met disaster on the battlefield of Chancellorsville, May 2–5, 1863.

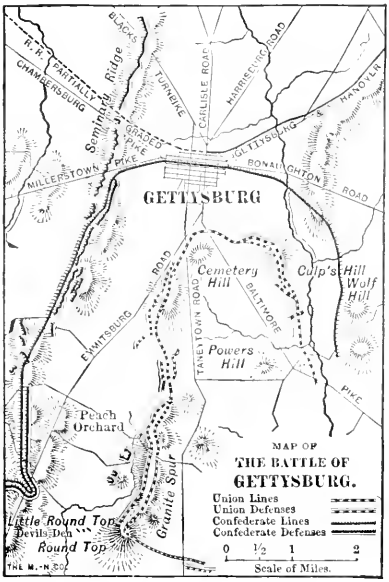
On the evening of the first day, General "Stonewall" Jackson, while reconnoitering, was accidentally fired upon by his own troops and fatally wounded. Thus the South lost this remarkable commander; they might better have lost the battle. General Jackson displayed such genius as a leader and inspired his men to accomplish such victories that he ranks high among the world's great commanders.

Lee's second invasion of the North.

Lee was now prepared to assume the offensive, and he again entered upon an invasion of the North. Crossing the Potomac with 75,000 troops he advanced into southern

Pennsylvania, hoping to reach Harrisburg and perhaps to threaten Philadelphia. One part of his army reached a point within four miles of the former place when it was recalled to join the main force, which was about to meet the Union army at Gettysburg. (See map, 389.) The Union army was commanded by Hooker's successor, General George Meade, a quiet, business-like officer, who could be depended upon. The first day's fighting, July 1, 1863, merely placed the opposing armies in their final positions along the summits of two opposing ridges. On the second day the Confederates attacked both right and left wings of the Union army with great energy; but they were unable to dislodge them. There remained the desperate chance of an attack upon the center, and July 3 witnessed one of the most thrilling charges in military history, when Pickett's division of 15,000 Confederate troops advanced against the Union second corps, which was commanded by General Hancock. Never was a brilliant charge more sturdily met, the Confederates being completely repulsed. Lee was defeated, and he once more retreated without having accomplished his aim. Cautious General Meade would not risk an at-

The battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863.



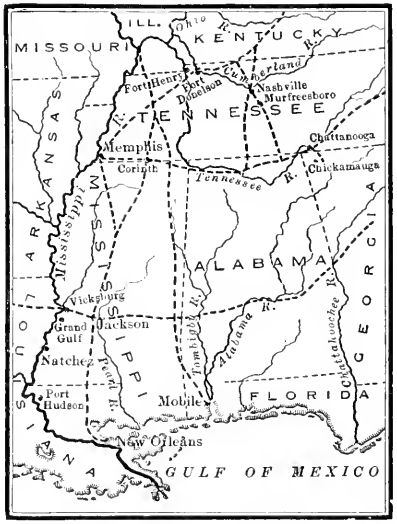
Map of the Battle of Gettysburg

tack, and the Southern forces reached Virginia soil in safety.

Lee had hoped by this invasion to gain a decisive battle, to dictate terms to the Union Government, and to win recognition of the Confederacy by foreign powers. His army was the finest the Confederacy ever put forth; for its losses on the field of Gettysburg the Southern people were never able to compensate.

The campaign against Vicksburg, 1863.

In the West, during the last months of 1862, Grant and Sherman were making unsuccessful attempts to capture Vicksburg. That part of the Mississippi River, some two hundred miles, between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, was still controlled by the Confederacy. This enabled them to maintain connections with the States west of the river, drawing thence both men and supplies—sugar, grain, and beef—besides army equipments smuggled in from Mexico. To sever this connection was a prime object of the war in the West.

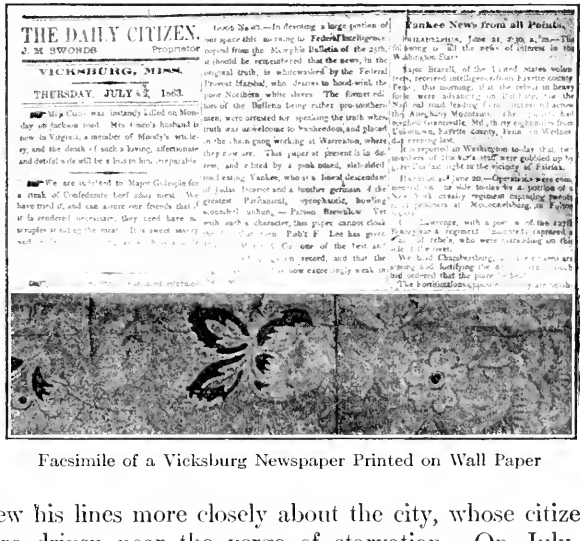


The Vicksburg and Chattanooga Campaigns

Failing to make any progress against the defences of Vicksburg from the north and east, Grant transferred his troops to the west side of the river, and marched them to a point twenty miles below Vicksburg (April, 1863). The way had been prepared for this movement by the running of the Vicksburg batteries situated on the

high bluffs overlooking the river, by vessels of Admiral Porter's fleet. Transports, provisions, and gun-boats were now ready for Grant's use below the city. Advancing northward, he captured Jackson, the capital of Mississippi and a railroad center, and drove General Pemberton's forces into Vicksburg. He prevented reënforcements under General Joseph E. Johnston from joining Pemberton, and laid siege to Vicksburg. Week after week, Grant

The Siege of Vicksburg.



THE DAILY CITIZEN.

J. M. SWORDS, Proprietor

VICKSBURG, MISS.

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1863.

Yankee News from all Points.

Facsimile of a Vicksburg Newspaper Printed on Wall Paper

drew his lines more closely about the city, whose citizens were driven near the verge of starvation. On July 4, 1863, Pemberton surrendered, and over 30,000 troops gave up their arms. A few days later Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks. As a result of these operations, the Confederacy was divided and weakened.

It was now less than two years since the first pitched battle of the war had been fought. In that short period the American people, both North and South, had displayed marvellous energy in the raising and training of two vast armies. They had given evidence of intense loyalty to the

opposing principles that caused the war. They had put into operation with facility, and at great cost, all the governmental processes that were calculated to support a long war. During the greater part of this period, the Union armies had met defeat in the East, though they were successful in the West. On the ocean and on Western waters the Union fleet had done valiant work. After the two great victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg closing this period of the war, it seemed inevitable that the North would ultimately prevail; but it was also certain that the South would stubbornly resist until men, money, and food were reduced to their lowest limits. It was to be a test of endurance. If the North could avoid dissension, could maintain its enthusiasm and determination, the end was not uncertain. But the South was to make its opponent pay dearly for the victory.

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8. The *Trent* affair. Burgess, I, 270–275. Schouler, VI, 121–125. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No, 299 (Seward's argument). Abraham Lincoln, Am. St. Series, I, 380–387 (new ed.), 380–387 (old ed.). C. F. Adams, Am. St. Series, chap. 12. Seward, Am. St. Series, chap. 18.

9. The *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, Dodge, 38–39. Schouler, VI, 190–192. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 109.

10. The Peninsular campaign. Dodge, 49–68. Schouler, VI, 192–208. Lincoln, Am. St. Series, II, chap. 2. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 112.

11. Gettysburg. Dodge, chaps. 25, 26. Abraham Lincoln, Am. St. Series, II, 147–149 (new ed.), 142–152 (old ed.). Burgess, II, chap. 25. Schouler, VI, 350–369.

12. The Vicksburg campaign. Burgess, II, chap. 24. Dodge, chaps. 27–30. Schouler, VI, 375–398. Hart, Contemporaries, VI, No. 119.

13. Interesting accounts of war scenes and incidents, from a Southern view-point, are to be found in Eggleston, A Rebel's Recollections; also, Southern Soldier Stories.

14. Historical fiction. John Fox, Jr., The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come. Eggleston, The Master of Warlock. Cable, The Cavalier. Crane, The Red Badge of Courage. Frederick, The Copperhead; and other stories of the North.

15. Are there any respects in which the Confederate Constitution was superior to that of the United States?

16. Mention other prominent Southerners besides Stephens who reluctantly followed their States in secession.

17. See James and Mann, Readings on American History, chap XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CIVIL WAR (*Continued*), 1863–1865

The strategic value of Chattanooga's position.

CHATTANOOGA was the most important strategic point left in Confederate hands in the West. (1) It was the base whose possession gave control of the valley of the upper Tennessee River. From this sheltered region between the parallel mountain ranges the Confederate army menaced eastern Tennessee and Kentucky; their raids through the easily defended mountain gaps extended even to Ohio River points. (2) This valley was the easy route of communication between the West and Virginia; relief expeditions were sent in either direction as necessity demanded. (3) Chattanooga occupied and controlled the mountain gap through which attack might be made from the West upon the Atlantic States of the South.

Battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, 1863.

When Rosecrans assumed the offensive against Bragg (June, 1863) he skilfully manœuvred his troops, without bringing on a battle, so that the Confederate army was obliged to abandon Chattanooga. Rosecrans followed Bragg's army southward, beyond Chattanooga, but the latter turned and attacked the Federal army at Chickamauga (September 19–20, 1863). This came near being a disaster; but General Thomas, commanding the Union left, held his position against great odds. The Union army retired to a position near Chattanooga, where it was besieged. General Grant was now put in charge of the campaign, with Thomas in immediate command at Chattanooga. Reënforcements arrived under Sherman from the Mississippi and under Hooker from the Potomac.

The Union army now attacked Bragg, who occupied the heights of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. "One of the most spectacular encounters the world ever saw lasted over three days [November 23, 24, 25] on these heights surrounding Chattanooga, with thrilling and impressive incidents." The Union victory was complete, and, except for minor operations, the West ceased to be a battle-ground.

The draft.

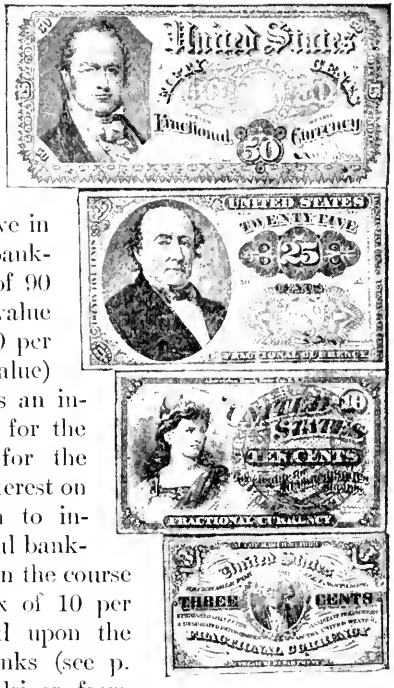
On its political side, the Government, in 1863, entered upon two new lines of policy. (1) A conscription, or draft, act was passed by Congress in March. Hitherto the army had been sustained by volunteer recruits. Under its power "to raise and support armies" Congress had assigned to each State its quota. Now, the militia were to be called out "to suppress insurrection." All able-bodied men between the ages of 20 and 45 (with certain exemptions) were enrolled by Federal officers. If the quota of any State was not supplied by volunteers the deficiency was made up by the drawing of names from a box, as in a lottery. Any person not responding to this call was treated as a deserter; but exemption from the draft might be secured by the payment of $300 (a provision afterward repealed), or by furnishing a substitute. Later, a bounty of $300 was granted to each volunteer, in addition to the regular pay of a private soldier (originally $13, later made $16 per month); and to this amount State and even local governments added bounties on their own account. When the draft was put into force, in the summer of 1863, it met serious resistance in New York city, where there was a riot, in the suppression of which many persons were killed and wounded. Several draft orders were issued in 1864; comparatively few troops were raised in this way, however, because of the remarkable willingness of men to volunteer.

Constitution, Article I, section 8, clauses 12 and 15.

(2) At the beginning of 1863, taxation was bringing in a very inadequate revenue, the legal tenders were depreciating, and bond sales were very slow. The expenses

The National Banking Act, 1863.

of the Government averaged $2,500,000 a day, while the receipts were about $600,000 a day. A serious deficit existed, amounting to $277,000,000 in December, 1862. At this juncture Congress enacted the greatest financial measure of the war—the National Banking act. It provided that banking associations might purchase National bonds, deposit them in the Treasury at Washington, and receive in return "National bank-notes" to the extent of 90 per cent. of the par value (but not more than 90 per cent. of the market value) of the bonds.* Thus an inducement was offered for the purchase of bonds; for the bank would receive interest on its bonds in addition to interest upon the National bank-notes which it loaned in the course of its business. A tax of 10 per cent. was later placed upon the notes of all State banks (see p. 387), and these were driven from circulation. The National Bank Act attained two great objects: it secured a market for National bonds; and it provided the country with a uniform and safe currency.



Fractional Currency of the Civil War Period

New legislation, enacted in the summer of 1864, increased the various taxes already imposed (see pp. 387, 388-9.) at almost every point. Tariff duties were raised

* See Government in State and Nation, 217–219.

from 37 per cent., on the average, to 47 per cent. of the value of imported goods.

The attitude of England.

Animosity toward the United States and friendship for the Confederacy were plainly displayed in England by the aristocracy, by the majority of the commercial and moneyed classes, and by newspapers.

For this there were several reasons: (1) The classes mentioned were prejudiced against the people of the North, whom they regarded as crude and boastful. (2) There was a dislike for republican institutions, whose insecurity was now to be demonstrated by the success of the South. (3) Commercially, the interests of the English seemed to be bound more closely to the South, from whom they must have cotton; besides, the exclusive protective tariff policy of the United States was contrasted with the free-trade policy of the Confederacy.

The question of recognition.

Napoleon III of France was ready at any time to recognize the independence of the Confederate Government. The Russian Government, however, refused to accede to the French desire for joint action among the powers in that direction. The English Cabinet, hesitating for many months, was divided upon this question (though a majority of Parliament favored recognition), and consequently a waiting policy was adopted. As the struggle progressed, and especially after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, public sentiment in England became aroused. Richard Cobden and John Bright spoke strongly for the Northern cause. The middle and laboring classes showed plainly that upon the question of slave labor *versus* free labor they stood for the cause of the North. This fact was the more remarkable because the curtailment of the cotton supply threw out of employment hundreds of thousands of mill employees and reduced them temporarily to extreme want.

In its relations to the American war the English Government violated the plainest rules concerning the duties of neutrals.

Among these rules is this: that a neutral power is bound to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, or the departure from its ports, of any

Confederate cruisers built in England.

vessel which it has reasonable grounds to believe is intended to carry on war against one of the belligerents. In spite of the well-known intentions of Confederate agents in securing the construction of vessels in English shipyards, the Government refused to prevent it. Among the vessels allowed to depart from England under these circumstances, the most famous was the *Alabama* (July, 1862). For nearly two years this and other Confederate cruisers seized and destroyed American vessels, and thus inflicted upon our merchant marine a blow from which it has never recovered.* The career of the *Alabama* came to an end, June 19, 1864, in a battle with the *Kearsarge*, commanded by Captain Winslow, near Cherbourg, France. The Confederate vessel was defeated and sunk within an hour's time.

The Confederate agents also secured the construction in England of two formidable iron-clad rams, against which the vessels of the United States navy would have been helpless. The skilfull diplomacy and repeated protests of our minister in England, Charles Francis Adams, had hitherto been unavailing, but now, realizing the crisis of the moment, he wrote to Earl Russell, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war" (September, 1863). The Cabinet policy was reversed, the rams were detained, and afterward they were purchased by the British Government.

General Grant placed in command.

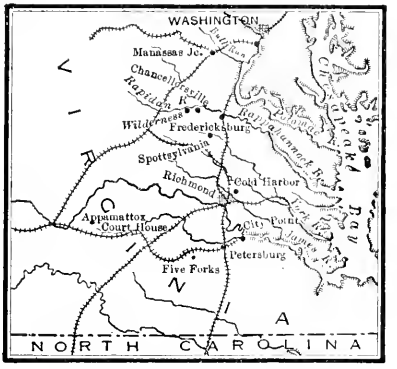
After Grant's successes in the West, the country looked to him as its champion. Congress passed (February, 1864) an act reviving the rank of Lieutenant-General,† and Lincoln promptly appointed Grant to this exalted position. Grant's military genius shone through a very plain exterior. Sherman characterized him as "simple, honest, and unpretending." He was taciturn, but was a hard worker and a deep thinker in the formation and execution of his military plans. Grant was aggressive and tenacious. Always cool in the midst of the most exciting events, his "simple faith in success" inspired officers and men with the greatest confidence.

* Two hundred and fifty-eight vessels were captured and 715 were transferred to the flags of other nations in order to avoid capture. The captures of the *Alabama* numbered sixty-eight. Hosmer, The Outcome of the Civil War, 174.

† This had been enjoyed only by Washington, and, by brevet, by Scott.

Grant had won his victories in the West by striking hard blows; he now proposed to use this method against Lee's army—to wear it away, if nothing else, by mere attrition. At the same time, General Butler was to move against Richmond by the James River, and General Franz Sigel was to confront the enemy in the Shenandoah valley. On May 4, 1864, Grant's army, numbering about 120,000 troops, crossed the Rapidan and entered that densely wooded region known as the Wilderness. The fierce conflict that raged for two days demonstrated Grant's failure to force an advance. Undismayed, and unwilling to yield ground, he made a movement by the left flank to the eastward, hoping to outflank Lee and to place his army between the enemy and Richmond. But his troops in their new position at Spottsylvania were again confronted by Lee's army, and again failed to make a forward movement.

The campaign in the East, 1864.



Grant's Campaign, 1864–1865

In this, as in succeeding movements of Grant's army by the left flank, Lee possessed the advantage of operating upon interior lines, and his great military skill enabled him to confront Grant at every point on ground well suited for defence. In eight days of almost continuous fighting 36,000 Union soldiers had fallen, either killed or wounded. When Grant's army, again moving southeastward, confronted Lee at Cold Harbor and charged his breastworks, fearful slaughter resulted, 7,000 men falling in one hour. But Lee's army and Richmond were still uncaptured. Grant now made an effective movement in

Grant's advance towards Richmond

the transportation of his army south of the James River. Here an attempt to capture Petersburg failed with great loss. Nothing remained but to lay siege to Petersburg and Richmond.

Meanwhile, in the Shenandoah valley, there was a repetition of Lee's former raids into the North. General Jubal Early's troops entered several Maryland towns and exacted tribute. They even penetrated to the outer defences of Washington, north-west of the city, within sight of the dome of the capitol.

Results of the summer's campaign.

Ulysses Simpson Grant
General, 1864-1869

It is difficult to realize the gloom that now settled upon the Northern people as they looked back upon another campaign of failure and loss. Lee's army had not been conquered, and the Confederates had again been at the gates of Washington. There had been an awful loss of skilled officers and veteran troops (about 60,000), and their places could not be adequately taken by the inexperienced troops now sent forward.

Sherman's campaign in the West, 1864.

Starting from Chattanooga with 100,000 troops at the same time (May, 1864) that Grant crossed the Rapidan, General Sherman moved south-eastwardly against the Confederate army under General Joseph E. Johnston. The destruction of this army was one of Sherman's objects; another purpose was the invasion of Southern territory in order to destroy sources of military supplies, and thus to bring home to the people the conviction that ultimately they would be conquered. Like Grant, Sherman was aggressive in policy; his peculiar genius was shown in the rapid and original manœuvres of his army. Displaying the same plain and honest traits as his great commander, Sherman won in a peculiar way the love of his soldiers.

Johnston retreated from one stronghold to another, Dalton, Resaca, Kingston, and Cassville in succession being abandoned. He was defeated in a strong position at Kenesaw Mountain, and the army of Sherman marched forward to capture Atlanta. (See map, p. 409.)

The Presidential campaign of 1864.

The political campaign of 1864 revealed several sources of popular discontent with Lincoln's administration (see p. 391). Secretary Chase, whose peculiar temperament had prevented his entering into sincerely cordial relations with Lincoln, allowed his name to be used (by the radical anti-slavery faction) as a prospective candidate for the Republican nomination. Chase soon saw his mistake and withdrew his name. This faction continued in opposition, however, and finally held a convention at Cleveland, where Lincoln was denounced as a usurper of power without capacity for the Presidency. His administration was declared to be politically, militarily, and financially a failure. General Frémont was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency; but when it became evident that popular support would be lacking, he withdrew.

The Radical convention.

The Republican nominations.

The friends of Lincoln's administration held a convention at Baltimore, in June, and nominated him with great enthusiasm. Their party was styled the "Union Republican Party," for it included many Democrats who favored the war policy

Andrew Johnson.

The candidate for Vice-President was Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. His nomination was a stroke of policy intended to win the votes of Democrats and of loyal men in the border States. Johnson was a war Democrat, and he had performed many valuable services for the Union cause in his capacity as military governor of Tennessee.

The Democratic party, platform, and candidate.

The most serious opposition to the reëlection of Lincoln came from the regular Democratic organization. This included two elements: (1) the "Copperheads," who were utterly opposed to the military coercion of the South and desired peace at any price; (2) those who believed that the

war could be pushed to a more speedy termination by a more efficient President. Both elements condemned Mr. Lincoln's apparent determination to bring about the abolition of slavery. The former element controlled the convention (at Chicago, August, 1864) sufficiently to have included in the platform a clause declaring that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . justice, humanity, and liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." Whatever specific policy this rather vague declaration pointed to, the candidate nominated, General McClellan, promptly repudiated the section just quoted. He placed himself, with the conservative Democrats, squarely upon the demand for the prosecution of the war, saying, "The Union must be preserved at all hazards."

A succession of military successes.

Opposition to Lincoln's administration during the summer of 1864 was most serious.* The war had now dragged on for more than three years; there was among the people a feeling of excessive weariness of its awful burdens in taxation and the loss of human life. But all this was changed when the military situation improved. (1) On August 5, Admiral Farragut made a bold attack with his fleet upon the forts that guarded the entrance to Mobile harbor. Later in the month the forts were captured and thus another step was taken in the execution of the blockade policy that was so effectually throttling the trade of the Confederacy. (2) After many weeks of strenuous work, Sherman captured Atlanta in September. This city had been a center for the manufacture of Con-

* Lincoln himself doubted his reëlection. See Century Magazine, August, 1907 (Vol. LXXIV, pp. 612–622). This entire series of articles (Lincoln in the Telegraph Office) gives an intimate view of Lincoln during the war.

federate arms, ammunition, and supplies. (3) General Philip Sheridan won a series of victories over General Early in the Shenandoah valley; the most important were at Winchester and Fisher's Hill in September, and at Cedar Creek, October 19.* (See map, p. 377.) Subsequently, Sheridan's army devastated the Shenandoah valley, destroying not only crops and provisions, but also all means of further production. Henceforth, this source of supplies for Lee's army was cut off, and no more raids into Northern territory by way of this valley were possible.

Philip H. Sheridan
Lieutenant-General, 1883-1888

The result of the election, November, 1864.

The election in November showed the stimulating effects of victory; for Lincoln carried all the States participating, except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. He received 212 electoral votes, while McClellan had but 21. Yet the popular vote shows more fairly the division among the people: Lincoln, 2,330,000; McClellan, 1,835,000. Commenting upon the election, Lincoln said: "It has been demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a National election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."†

Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea.

Sherman was anxious to coöperate with Grant against Richmond, and for accomplishing this he had an original plan. His army would first march directly from Atlanta to Savannah, and there establish new connections with the north, by water; this would be followed by a

* T. Buchanan Reid's poem, Sheridan's Ride, and especially its recital at Cincinnati by a famous reader, Murdoch, aroused great enthusiasm and produced no little political effect.

† See Morse's Abraham Lincoln, II, 293–295, for the speech of which this is an extract.

march north to Richmond. Receiving the consent of Lincoln and Grant for his plan, Sherman abandoned his base and northern connections at Atlanta (November 12, 1864), and advanced through Georgia with an army of 60,000 veterans marching in three columns. No resistance was met. Railroads, factories, and other means for aiding the Confederacy were ruthlessly destroyed; food and forage for Sherman's army were gathered from near and far; but, beyond this, the needless destruction of private property was prohibited by Sherman, but the enforcement of this order was only partially accomplished.

William Tecumseh Sherman
General, 1869–1883

Says Dodge (Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War, 290), "No army ever enjoyed such freedom and kept within such bounds." From Sherman's Official Report we learn: "We consumed corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of the line from Atlanta to Savannah; also the sweet potatoes, hogs, sheep, and poultry, and carried off more than ten thousand mules and horses. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia at $100,000,000, at least $10,000,000 of which inured to our benefit and the remainder was simply waste and destruction."

By December 10, Sherman's army arrived before the defences of Savannah, and a few days before Christmas the city was captured; great stores of arms and ammunition and 25,000 bales of cotton were the prize secured.

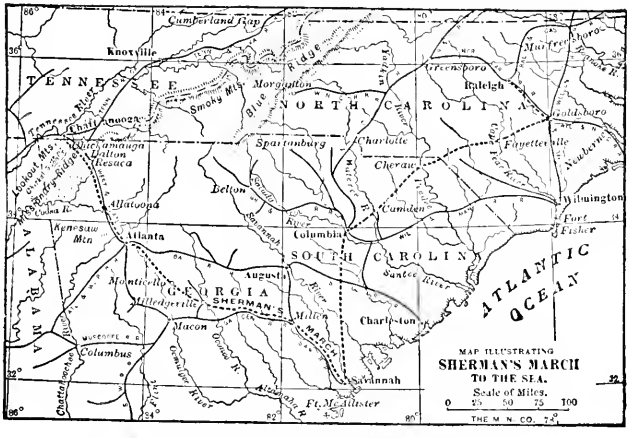
The defeat of Hood and Sherman's advance

In the meantime, General Hood had attacked Sherman's line of communications between Atlanta and Chattanooga, hoping to draw him back to their defence. General Thomas, who was put in command of the Union army in eastern Tennessee, met Hood's assaults successfully. Finally, he attacked the Southern army at Nashville (December 15–16), and completely defeated it. Hood's army never reassembled; many of his soldiers returned to

their homes, while others joined the army under Johnston now gathering in the Carolinas to oppose Sherman's northward march. When the latter set out from Savannah, the rivers were swollen and the roads were almost impassable. Columbia, S. C. was reached February 17, Goldsboro, N. C., March 23, and Raleigh, April 2.

Lincoln's second inaugural

Lincoln was inaugurated for the second time, March 4, 1865. In his second inaugural the great President displayed no vindictive feeling. "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this great scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if



Map Illustrating Sherman's March to the Sea

God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Final operations about Richmond.

Grant, besieging Petersburg and Richmond since June, 1864, could not wait for Sherman's arrival from the South to push his army to victory. On April 1, 1865, a successful attack was made by troops under Sheridan against the Confederate forces at Five Forks. See map, p. 403. The next day the inner works of Petersburg were carried. That night (April 2–3) Lee's army quietly withdrew along the only avenue of escape left open to the westward. Grant's troops occupied Richmond and immediately took up the pursuit. Lee's supplies failed him, and, finally, on April 9, at Appomattox Court House, he found that Sheridan had planted troops squarely across his path. Refusing to cause needless bloodshed, Lee asked for an interview with Grant, and terms of surrender were at once arranged. These were most generous: the entire force surrendered were released on parole; the officers retained their sidearms, horses, and baggage; and the privates who owned horses were allowed to take them home in order that they might at once begin the spring farm work.

General Robert E. Lee, C. S. A.

General Johnston surrendered to Sherman on April 26, and thus two great armies went at once from the field to the peaceful pursuits of life.

The Thirteenth Amendment.

The complete abolition of slavery, as a logical consequence of the war, was provided for by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Congress in January, 1865. This amendment was ratified by three-

fourths of the States and was declared in force December 18, 1865.*

The great joy over the close of the war was almost immediately turned to grief over the assassination of President Lincoln. This occurred on the evening of April 14, when John Wilkes Booth, an actor, shot the President as he sat in his box at Ford's Theatre in Washington.† Now, as never before, the people saw the worth of the simple, honest man who had guided the Nation through these perilous years. No other man in all our history has come so near to the hearts of the common people. Rising from their midst, he embodied not only the true American democratic spirit, but all the homely virtues that called forth the lasting admiration of the masses. He was shrewd, far-seeing, and kindly—"thinking no evil." Completely master of himself, he held to his convictions with an iron grip. He showed the highest skill in dealing with his enemies, in winning opponents to his side, and in interpreting the half-expressed will of the people. We may not hesitate to repeat the high eulogy of his contemporary, Stanton, who called Lincoln "the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen." How much the disunited country needed his skilful service in healing the dissensions of the years that now followed will be seen in succeeding chapters.

The great President falls.

The defeat of the Confederacy was not due to lack of fighting qualities in her generals and soldiers, or of devotion in her people.‡ (1) First among the causes of defeat

Why the South was defeated.

* Before this time slavery had been abolished by Missouri, Maryland, Tennessee, and West Virginia, States unaffected by the Emancipation Proclamation; and by Virginia and Louisiana, parts of which were excepted by the Proclamation. Of the original slave States, therefore, Delaware and Kentucky alone retained slavery when the amendment went into force.

† A valuable account of this event by one of Lincoln's body-guard is found in Harper's Magazine, September, 1907 (Vol. CXVIII, pp. 519–530). The series, of which this article is one, is of great interest.

‡ "The devotion of the Southerners was, in fact, immeasurable; the economic agree with the military historians that their sacrifices were far greater than any the Revolutionary patriots made. In the day of extreme need, the women offered the hair of their heads to be sold abroad for arms." Brown, The Lower South, 167.

(1) Lack of soldiers.

was the disparity in population. While volunteering was as general there as in the North, it became necessary early (April, 1862) to resort to conscription; the draft laws finally included all males between the ages of 16 and 60. While less than one-half the military population of the North entered the army, the proportion in the South was nine-tenths. (2) The resources of the South proved inadequate. The curse of slavery was upon the land; here lay the secret of the Confederacy's lack in skilled mechanics, factories, mines, and railroads. The blockade cut off imports which she could not produce. (3) The fundamental cause of the failure of the Confederacy's finances lay in the lack of resources that could be taxed; for the ability of a people to pay taxes depends upon the productivity of their industries. While at the North business thrived and millions of fresh acres were turned into farms, at the South the withdrawal of men paralyzed industry. Moreover, the blockade cut off the great source of income—cotton exportation. The taxation of commerce by import and export duties also became impossible. In its extremity, the Confederate Government seized supplies, paying for them at fixed rates. But the Government relied chiefly for financial support upon bond issues and paper money. The bonds became next to worthless before the end of the war. Paper money was issued (both by States and by the Confederacy) in enormous quantities, and it depreciated almost from the beginning.*

(2) Lack of resources.

(3) The failure of taxation as a basis for bonds and paper money.

The results of the war.

The Civil War was fought by the North for the maintenance of an ideal—that union of States and of people which aroused the patriotic spirits of the loyal citizens. The doc-

* "In 1863, flour was worth from $90 to $100 a barrel in Mississippi, and salt $30 a bushel. The following year boots sold for $200 a pair and coats for $350 each. The price of coffee was $5 and of sugar was $2 a pound."—Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, 50. The Confederate Government virtually repudiated large amounts of the paper money by compelling the people to take in exchange for it Confederate bonds. Neither the money nor the bonds were ever redeemed.

trine that a State could constitutionally withdraw from the Union was finally and completely overthrown. Doubtless, moral indignation over the great wrong of slavery—that first cause of disunion—went far toward spurring men on for the defence of the Union. The North spent in treasure three and a quarter billions of dollars, piling up a debt of $2,846,000,000. For this cause 360,000 men laid down their lives in the field, and as many more died from wounds and sickness.* They won for posterity a united country, freedom from the shame of slavery, and exemption from all the strife and economic loss that must have ensued had two independent nations attempted to occupy the geographical territory destined for one people.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Chickamauga and Chattanooga. Burgess, The Civil War and the Constitution, II, chap. 26. Dodge, Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War, chaps. 34, 35. Schouler, VI, 441–455.

2. Finances of United States during the war. Burgess, II, 225–229. Blaine, Twenty Years in Congress, I, 433. Chase, Am. St. Series, chap. 9.

3. Sheridan in the Shenandoah valley. Dodge, chap. 42. Schouler, VI, 516–519. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 135.

4. Sherman's march. Burgess, II, 261–266. Dodge, chaps. 45, 46. Schouler, VI, 549–555. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 137.

5. Northern and Southern soldiers. Dodge, 116–121. Schouler, VI, 246–316.

6. Prisons and prisoners. Schouler, VI, 407–414.

7. English sentiment toward the United States. Rhodes, IV, 76–95, 349–374. Seward, Am. St. Series, II, 296–297 (new ed.), 296–297 (old ed.). Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 98.

* "While the money cost to the Confederacy was perhaps one-half that stated for the Union, the number of lives sacrificed was probably about the same. Thus the total loss of human life was considerably over one million."—Hosmer, Outcome of the Civil War, 304. "The blood of the Nation was lastingly impoverished by that awful hemorrhage."—Ross, Foundations of Sociology, 392.

8. Dissatisfaction with Lincoln in 1864. Rhodes, IV, 518–522; 530–531. Abraham Lincoln, Am. St. Series, II, 246–249, 267–268 (new ed.), 246–249, 267–268 (old ed.).

9. Economic and financial conditions in the Confederacy. Wilson, Division and Reunion, 244–248. Schouler, VI, 568–575.

10. Lincoln's appearance and personality. Schouler, VI, 20-23; 624–633. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 96. Lowell, Political Essays. Abraham Lincoln, Am. St. Series, 354–358 (new ed.), 354–358 (old ed.).

11. Money and prices in war times. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 82. Vivid descriptions of battle scenes, *ibid.*, Nos. 87 and 92. The sanitary commission, *ibid.*, No. 89.

12. Causes of Northern success. Elson, Sidelights on American History, II, chap. 6.

13. Special books on this period. Riddle, Recollections of War Times. McClure, Lincoln and Men of War Times. Greeley, American Conflict. Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. S. S. Cox, Three Decades of Federal Legislation. U. S. Grant, Memoirs. W. T. Sherman, Memoirs. Avery, A Virginia Girl in the Civil War. J. Davis, Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government. Kieffer, Recollections of a Drummer Boy. Porter, Campaigning with Grant. Recollections and Letters of Robert E. Lee, by His Son. Dodd, Life of Jefferson Davis.

14. Lives of Grant have been written by Church, Stoddard, and Allen; of Lee by White and Howe.

15. Lives of Lincoln by Brooks, Hapgood, and Arnold.

16. Abraham Lincoln: A History, by Nicolay and Hay, the most authoritative account, was published in the Century Magazine from Vol. XIII (1887) to Vol. XVII.

17. In the Century Magazine, Volumes VII (1884) to XIII, is a series of articles upon the various campaigns, many of them written by the officers in command. The illustrations are invaluable.

18. Historical fiction. Brady, The Southerners. Altsheler, Before the Dawn. Page, The Burial of the Guns; and other stories.

19. Further material on the Civil War, in James and Mann, Readings on American History, chap. 24.

CHAPTER XXV

RECONSTRUCTION, 1863–1872

THE grave problems that confronted the Nation at the close of the war centered about industrial, social, and political conditions in the South. Industrially, that section was in ruins. Conditions in the South.

"The people were generally impoverished. The farms had gone to waste; the fields were covered with weeds and bushes. Farm implements and tools were gone; live stock had disappeared so that there were barely enough farm animals to meet the demands of agriculture. Business was at a standstill; banks and commercial places had either been suspended or closed on account of insolvency. The currency was in a wretched condition, and the disbanded soldiers returned to their homes to find desolation and starvation staring them in the face." *

One-third of the white bread-winners had been either killed or disabled. But the most difficult problem in the situation involved the negroes, who comprised one-half of the population. Could they prove their fitness for freedom? Under slavery they had been elevated from barbarism to at least a semblance of civilization; but they had had no experience in working under any other incentive than the fear or the love of a master who was at the same time owner. It is not strange that they should have developed little power of self-control and that, emerging from slavery, they should have been, on the whole, both indolent and shiftless. The freedmen.

During the war the mass of the slaves had remained on the plantations, quietly guarding the women and the children and raising crops. For their admirable conduct

* Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, 122.

The origin of the Freedman's Bureau.

they had won the gratitude of their masters. If this benevolent attitude could have continued, all might have been well; but that was not to be. As the victorious Union armies advanced, particularly after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, multitudes of negroes flocked to them for protection.* Many of them followed the troops, while others left their plantations and went to the neighboring towns and cities. All were without means of subsistence, and consequently the Federal Government was forced, for humane reasons, to begin the practice of issuing rations and clothing to them. In March, 1865, a special bureau was created in the War Department, known as the Freedman's Bureau, with officers and agents in all parts of the South. Its purposes were: (1) The distribution of food, clothing, and fuel to destitute freedmen; (2) the distribution among them of abandoned or confiscated lands; (3) the establishment of schools for their instruction.

During the summer of 1865 and the winter that followed, multitudes of freedmen were without occupation; against the advice of the Freedman's Bureau officials, they continued flocking to the towns and wandering from place to place. Petty larceny became very common. Many, indeed, took advantage of their new freedom to assume insolent airs toward their former masters.

Lincoln's plan of reconstruction.

Another problem was more purely political; viz., what was the legal status of the Southern States? Their legal governments had been overthrown and their constitutional relation to the Union had been broken. By what methods and by what authority should these be reëstablished? President Lincoln had made some progress in solving this problem before his death.

Avoiding the abstract question as to whether the Southern States were legally in or out of the Union, he maintained that they were "out of their proper practical relation with the Na-

* Fifty thousand slaves were gathered about Grant's army at Vicksburg.

[illegible] signed Prisoner of War, of [illegible] [illegible] do hereby give my solemn [illegible] of honor that [illegible] after [illegible] the armies of the Confederate States [illegible] in any military capacity whatever, against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, will properly exchanged, in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

Done at [illegible] Va.
this [illegible] day of [illegible] 1865

[illegible]

Amnesty Oath.

Office of Assistant Provost Marshal,

_____, Va., _____ 1865.

I, _____, do solemnly swear, (or affirm), in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. SO HELP ME GOD.

Sworn and subscribed to, before me, this _____ day of _____ 1865. _____

_____

Capt. and Ass't Provost Marshal.

I DO HEREBY CERTIFY, That on the _____ day of _____, 1865, at _____ the Oath prescribed by the President of the United States, in his Proclamation of May 29th, 1865, was duly taken, subscribed and made matter of record by _____ of _____

Parole signed by a Confederate Soldier
Amnesty Oath to be taken by Confederates

tional Government." * When the Union army overthrew the Confederate authorities in any Southern State or part of a State, that region was under the military authority of the United States; and its government might be dictated by the President as Commander-in-Chief of the army, acting through a military governor. The President had authority to direct and assist the loyal inhabitants of any such section in the establishment of a new civil government. The number of loyal voters necessary in the formation of a new government was not less than one-tenth the number who had voted in 1860. This, briefly stated, was Lincoln's plan of reconstruction.

Lincoln's policy in effect.

In order to encourage the return of Southerners to their former allegiance, Lincoln issued (December, 1863) a Proclamation of Amnesty, granting "full pardon" to such of them as would take an oath to support the United States Government; but certain classes were excluded from this benefit, particularly civil and military officers of the Confederate Government and those Confederates who had formerly held United States offices. President Lincoln's plan of reconstruction was put into practical effect in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. It was well understood by Lincoln that the process of reconstruction could be completed only by the admission of Senators and Representatives into Congress from these States; and that over this matter the Houses had complete control.

Lincoln's procedure met with the bitter opposition of a few Republican members of Congress, and at his death the problem was still unsolved. The method of reconstruction to be adopted must depend upon the views of the man who now assumed the Presidency and of the Republican leaders in Congress.

The experience and character of President Johnson.

President Johnson had been a tailor by trade. Reared in poverty and without education, he had advanced in life by sheer energy and force of character. He had been elected to the State Legislature of Tennessee and to the United States House of Representatives; he had been Governor of Tennessee and then

* See Lincoln's address of April 11, 1865; American History Leaflets, No. 26, pp. 31–35; Larned's History for Ready Reference, 1863, December, and 1865, April 11.

United States Senator. He refused to join in the secession movement in his State, and in 1862 was made by Lincoln military governor of Tennessee. A man of pure motives and genuine patriotism, he was yet the victim of a violent and unreasoning temper. The strength of will and stubborn adherence to purpose that had raised him from obscurity to eminence, were now to be displayed where tact and accommodation to men of different views were necessary.

His reconstruction policy.

On May 29, 1865, President Johnson issued an Amnesty Proclamation similar to that of Lincoln, but excluding from the privilege of general pardon a larger number of classes; notable among these were all ex-Confederates possessing taxable property of $20,000 value. All persons of the excepted classes, however, had the privilege of obtaining special pardon upon application to the President. Johnson subsequently displayed great leniency in the granting of special pardons.

Steps taken to carry it out.

Congress was not in session between March and December, 1865; consequently, ample opportunity was given for the execution of the President's policy of reconstruction. A provisional governor was appointed by the President for each one of the seceding States. Elections were then held for choosing delegates to constitutional conventions in those States. The conventions, after repealing or declaring null and void the ordinances of secession, proceeded to amend their former constitutions by abolishing slavery. Elections were held for members of the State Legislatures and for Representatives in Congress. These steps were completed in most of the Southern States by the time Congress met. Now, it was the duty of Congress, said President Johnson, to recognize these States by admitting their Senators and Representatives to seats at once.

Opposition to Johnson's policy.

The policy thus rapidly and effectively put into execution met with determined opposition in Congress. (1) The leaders in Congress believed that the President had assumed unwarranted powers; that the authority to direct the reconstruction process resided in Congress. (2) The

President's policy was considered too liberal. Many persons in the North were loath to believe that the "rebels" were sincerely repentant. Should there not be at least a period of probation during which their sincerity could be demonstrated and guarantees for their future conduct be secured? (3) In the Southern States the Democratic party was in control. If the Northern and Southern wings of that party should now combine, they might secure the control of Congress, and of the Presidency. To many Republicans this would seem like resigning the Government into the hands of those who had done their best to wreck the Union and to perpetuate slavery.* (4) During the winter of 1865–1866, the Legislatures of the Southern States enacted laws which were intended to mitigate the evils that arose while the freedmen, still in large measure idle and lawless, were roving about and congregating in towns and cities.

The Black Codes.

These laws, known as the Black Codes, differed in the various States, but may be summarized as follows: (1) All free negroes or persons of color should have regular occupations, or employment under written contract; and quitting the service of employers, when under contract, would subject them to arrest. (2) Freedmen found without employment were considered vagrants and were subject to arrest and fine. Failure to pay the fine (which was, of course, inevitable) would cause such persons to be hired out to employers, preferably their former masters. (3) The same penalty was fixed for the commission of those crimes and petty offences of which the free negro was commonly guilty; even cruelty to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language, or acts, were included in the list of offences. (4) All negroes under eighteen years of age who were orphans, or whose parents did not support them, might be apprenticed by a

* "Have we endured and prosecuted this war for the sake of bringing back our old enemies to legislate for us, stronger than ever, with all the resentment and none of the instruction of defeat?"—James Russell Lowell, Political Essays.

court to employers, preferably to their former masters. The apprenticeship should last, in the case of males, until they were twenty-one, and in the case of females until they were eighteen years of age. The master had power to inflict corporal punishment upon an apprentice; desertion was followed by arrest.

Justification and criticism of them.

Southerners justified these laws by the conditions then prevailing, as described in preceding paragraphs. To them it seemed unreasonable to expect the ex-slaves to develop instantly self-control and industrious habits. In this transitional period, the freedmen must be restrained by strict legislation. Moreover, said they, the freedmen have been systematically taught by agents of the Freedman's Bureau and of Northern philanthropic societies to regard themselves as equals of the whites in every respect. They had, in consequence, become insolent and dangerous. Their false ideas of National protection and bounty had deterred them from industry. The negro, said Southerners, is not the equal of the white man in civilization, and we shall not regard him as our equal in social, civil, or political rights. In the North, on the other hand, the Black Codes were regarded as an evasion of the Thirteenth Amendment and an indirect method of reëstablishing negro slavery. The enemies of slavery saw behind these laws only the spirit of race animosity.

Northern views of the negro question.

Throughout the North, sectional hatred was inflamed. In Congress the rising opposition to Johnson's plan of reconstruction was strengthened. From the Republican standpoint, the new State governments had demonstrated their incapacity to cope with the negro problem. As a consequence, it seemed necessary to enact National legislation protecting the freedman from such discriminations against his civil rights, and to exact from the Southern States certain guarantees before their readmission into the Union. To many Northerners of the more radical type, the only solution of the problem seemed to lie in the granting of negro suffrage. Congress contained a Republican majority who now refused to admit the newly elected Senators and Representatives from the Southern States to their seats. A joint committee of fifteen was appointed

to report a plan of reconstruction. Instead of attempting, by consultation, to bring about some compromise, President Johnson upheld his own policy with characteristic violence, and in this he received Democratic support.

Republican leaders in Congress.

Among the Republicans in Congress, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, exerted the most powerful influence in the House He was a man of strong, uncompromising convictions, and one of the greatest parliamentarians of our history. His speeches abounded in wit and sarcasm and frequently breathed the spirit of acrimony. In the Senate, Charles Sumner played the leading part. His constant adherence to the doctrine of the equality of all men placed him with the radicals in dealing with the Southern question. Neither he nor Stevens could rest while there remained upon the statute books of the Nation, or of any State, a trace of the negro's inferiority in civil or political rights.

Charles Sumner

The Freedman's Bureau bill.

The first measure passed by the Republicans was a bill for the continuance of the Freedman's Bureau and the enlargement of its powers (January, 1866). Its agents were authorized to take from the courts any case (either civil or criminal) in which it seemed that a freedman's rights might not be fully secured. The Bureau was to receive the support of United States troops. In vetoing this bill, Johnson argued in a dignified and conclusive way that it was a war measure for which, in times of peace, there was neither legal nor moral justification; and that it would not aid in the solution of the industrial problem of the South. The bill failed to pass over his veto.

In a public speech made on February 22d, Johnson cited by name Stevens, Sumner, and Wendell Phillips as enemies of their country. The breach between the Presi-

dent and the majority of Congress was now complete, and on March 2, 1866, the House passed a resolution that Senators and Representatives should not be admitted to Congress from any of the eleven States until Congress had declared them entitled to representation. Congress now proceeded to put into force its own policy of reconstruction. The Congressional policy begun.

The motives that inspired this policy were mingled in the different men who led the way; but these motives may be classified as (1) humane, in so far as they contemplated the protection and elevation of the freedmen; (2) vindictive, in looking toward the punishment of the South for its sins; (3) political, in aiming at the maintenance of Republican supremacy; (4) personal, as inspired by hatred of the President.

I. The Civil Rights bill.

The Civil Rights bill, passed in March, 1866, declared that "all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed," were citizens of the United States; that all citizens "of every race and color, without regard to previous condition of slavery," were entitled to the same civil rights in every State; that the laws for the protection of citizens and for the punishment of offenders should apply to blacks the same as to whites. This law was a distinct blow at the Black Codes. It established a new policy under which the National Government defined civil rights (hitherto entirely within the province of State legislation) and enforced them by the use of its military authority. The bill was vetoed as a matter of course by Johnson, but it was passed over his veto.

II. The Fourteenth Amendment.

The next important legislation, enacted in June, 1866, after a report of the Committee on Reconstruction and many weeks of discussion, was the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, which Congress now submitted to the States for ratification. It read as follows:

Citizens and their rights.

"Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges

or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Threatened reduction of representation.

"Sect. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age, in such State.

Disabilities of ex-Confederates.

"Sect. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of president or vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house remove such disability.

The Confederate debts.

"Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

"Sect. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

The first section of this amendment is evidently a repetition of the Civil Rights Act. The abolition of slavery resulted in the annulment of the three fifths clause of Article I of the Constitution, and would consequently increase the representation of the Southern States in the House and the number of their electoral votes. Republican supremacy was thus endangered.

unless the number of Democratic Representatives could be cut down by the device of the second section; for it was never conceived that a Southern State would grant suffrage to the negroes. The third section of the proposed amendment disqualified for holding offices all leaders of the South. The President might pardon these "ex-rebels," but Congress alone could, by two-thirds vote of each House, restore this important political right. The fourth section was a reasonable guarantee of National dignity with respect to the debts and expenses of the war.

Events that encouraged more radical legislation.

Numerous events now occurred that had the effect of driving the majority of Congress to a more radical position. (1) President Johnson made a circuit through important cities (New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Indianapolis, among others), in the course of which, provoked by the taunts of his enemies, he made undignified and insulting remarks concerning Congress and Republicans. (2) The fall elections (1866) for members of Congress showed increased Republican gains, and these betokened popular approval of Congressional action. (3) The Southern States showed great hostility to the Fourteenth Amendment, and all except Tennessee finally rejected it.* (4) Reports reached the North of disturbed conditions in the South, including the abuse of the freedmen and riots involving much bloodshed.

III. The Reconstruction Act of 1867.

In view of these events all conservatism in Congress was now laid aside, and this body went forward to the execution of a most rigorous policy. This was embodied in the Reconstruction Act of March, 1867: (1) The ten unreconstructed States were divided into five military districts, each under an officer of the army and an adequate force of troops. Military government might supersede the existing civil government at any place where this seemed desirable. (2) The officers in command should supervise the election of a constitutional convention in each State; those who could vote for delegates to these conventions were to be male citizens twenty-one years of age, "of whatever

* Tennessee ratified the amendment, and its Senators and Representatives were admitted to Congress before its adjournment in July.

race, color, or previous condition"; except such as might be disfranchised for participation in rebellion. This meant the enfranchisement of the blacks and the disfranchisement of the majority of the whites. (3) The conventions should frame State constitutions in which the negro should be granted suffrage. (4) These constitutions should be ratified by popular vote, the same qualifications being employed here as in the election of delegates. (5) The State Legislatures electing under these new governments should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. (6) Congress would then declare the admission of the Senators and Representatives from these States and their full restoration to the Union.

Its results. Under this law many State and local officials in the Southern States were removed and superseded by men who approved of negro suffrage and the Reconstruction Act. Thus Congress succeeded in its purpose of taking all political power in these States from the persons who had been active in the struggle against the Union.

Political conditions in the South. The actual government of the Southern States now fell into the hands of four groups of persons: (1) Southern unionists who had been ostracized or banished during the war, and a few ex-Confederates who now acquiesced in the Congressional policy; these were called "scalawags." (2) A class of Northerners who went South after the war, some to make investments (chiefly buying up at a low figure, estates of insolvent or dead planters), and others deliberately to get public offices; these were known as "carpet-baggers." (3) The negroes.* (4) Some Southerners, mostly business men who had not previously taken active part in politics. It is almost unnecessary to say that the dominant political party in each State was the Republican. Following the provisions of the Reconstruction

* "Of the registered voters (previous to the constitutional conventions) a majority were negroes in South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana, and probably in Mississippi. In the constitutional conventions negroes were a majority of the delegates in South Carolina."—Dunning's Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction, 188, 194.

Act, the States of Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama were admitted to the Union in 1868. In July of that year, it was announced that the Fourteenth Amendment had been ratified by the required number of States and was a part of the Constitution. The readmission of Virginia, Georgia, Texas, and Mississippi was postponed for various reasons until the year 1870.

In the meantime, Congress had proposed (February, 1869) a new constitutional amendment.

The Fifteenth Amendment.

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Sect. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This was intended to place negro suffrage beyond the power of Congress and the State Legislatures. The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified and declared in force in March, 1870.

The Tenure of Office Act.

In March, 1867, Congress had enacted the Tenure of Office Act, a law which may be regarded as a trap deliberately set to catch Johnson in the commission of an impeachable offence. Its occasion was the removal by the President, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors since Jackson's time, of many officers who were not in sympathy with his administration.

Did the President have sole power of removal?

The Constitution, vesting the appointment of important officers in the President "with the advice and consent of the Senate," is silent as to the process of removal. Since the establishment of the Government, however, the power to remove such officers had been regarded as a prerogative of the President alone. This conclusion had been arrived at during debate in the first Congress and was strengthened by judicial decision. The Tenure of Office Act declared that every officer appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate should continue to hold his position until the Senate agreed to his removal. During a recess of the Senate the President might suspend an officer,

but if the Senate disapproved of this the officer should resume his position. President Johnson asked for the resignation of Secretary of War Stanton in August, 1867. General Grant was authorized to act as Secretary of War until the Senate should act upon the matter. The Senate refused (January, 1868) to concur in Stanton's suspension, and he thereupon resumed his office. The President then issued an order for his removal and appointed a successor.

The impeachment of President Johnson.

This led at once to the voting of articles of impeachment in the House of Representatives. The President was charged with "high crimes and misdemeanors" in eleven articles. These, briefly summarized, specified: (1) His violation of the Tenure of Office Act in the removal of Stanton; (2) his declarations and public speeches, in which it was maintained that he sought "to destroy the regard and respect of all the good people of the United States for Congress and the legislative power thereof"; (3) his opposition to the Reconstruction Act. Among the leaders of the House who conducted the prosecution before the Senate were Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Butler, and George S. Boutwell. The President was defended by able lawyers, among them William M. Evarts and Benjamin R. Curtis.

Constitution, Art. II, sec. 4. Art. I, sec. 2, cl. 5. Sec. 3, cls. 6, 7.

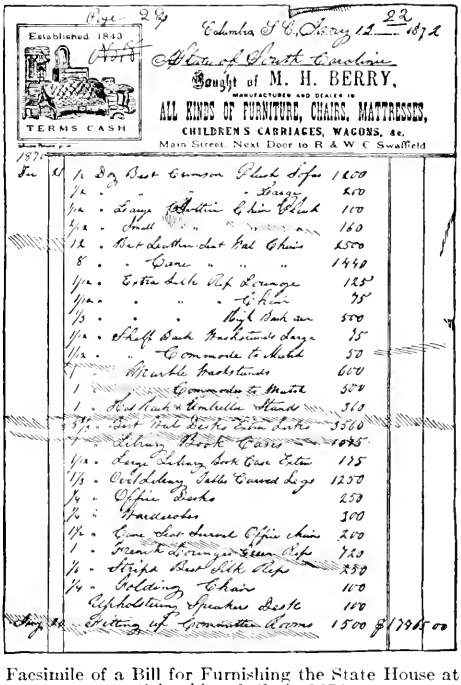
The trial and its outcome.

This notable trial lasted ten weeks and attracted the attention of the civilized world. Again the stability of our institutions was put to a test; but in spite of all the bitter feeling and party hatred that had been engendered, the forms of law were fully observed and there was no thought of resort to physical violence on either side. The defence maintained that the Tenure of Office Act encroached upon a constitutional power of the President—the independent right of removing his subordinates. The loss of this power, it was argued, would destroy the equality of this department and place the Executive at the mercy of Congress. The vote upon the article of impeachment involving this question was 35 to 19, and thus the Senate failed by one vote to convict the President. Seven Republicans who had hitherto opposed the President in his contest with Congress, and four Republicans who had hitherto sided with him, voted with eight Democrats in his favor. No vote was taken on the other charges, and the accusation was dropped. Thus ended the most dramatic incident in the civil history of the

United States—an incident which friends of both parties in the unseemly dispute were soon glad to forget.

In the election of 1868 the Democratic party condemned in strong terms the reconstruction policy of the Republicans; they also favored the payment of the war bonds

The election of 1868.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Columbia S. C. January 12 22 1872

Established 1843

TERMS CASH

State of South Carolina

Bought of M. H. BERRY,

MANUFACTURER AND DEALER IN

ALL KINDS OF FURNITURE, CHAIRS, MATTRESSES,

CHILDREN'S CARRIAGES, WAGONS, &c.

Main Street, Next Door to R. & W. C. Swaffield

1871			
Jan	31	1 Doz Best Crimson Plush Sofas	1800
		½ " " " Sacks	600
		½ Large Cane Seat Chairs Polish	100
		½ Small " " "	160
		12 Best Leather Seat Cane Chairs	1500
		8 " " " "	1440
		½ Extra Lock Rep Lounges	125
		½ " " " Chairs	75
		½ " " Rep Sofa	500
		½ Shuff Back Mahogany Sofas	75
		½ " Commode & Mantle	50
		1 Marble Washstands	600
		1 " Commode & Mantle	500
		1 Hat Rack & Umbrella Stand	360
		1½ Best Wal Desks Cane Seats	3500
		1 Library Book Cases	1085
		½ Large Library Book Case Extra	175
		1½ Oval Library Table Carved Legs	1250
		½ Office Desks	250
		½ Bureaus	300
		1½ Cane Seat Carved Office Chairs	260
		1 Secretary Bookcase Office	750
		½ Hight Post Sofa Bed	350
		¼ Folding Chair	100
		Upholstering Speakers Desk	100
Aug	31	Putting up Committee Rooms	1500 $ 17945 00

Facsimile of a Bill for Furnishing the State House at Columbia, S. C., in 1872

in greenbacks instead of in gold. This was intended as a means by which the stock of money in the country would be increased, and thereby the period of high prices prolonged. The Republicans condemned this policy as amounting to repudiation of a part of the debt, since the bondholders had expected payment in gold, and the legal

tenders were not yet at par. General Grant was unanimously nominated by the Republican convention as candidate for President, with Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and General Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. The election was a Republican victory, that party carrying six Southern States, while three others (Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas) cast no votes.

The government of the reconstructed States.

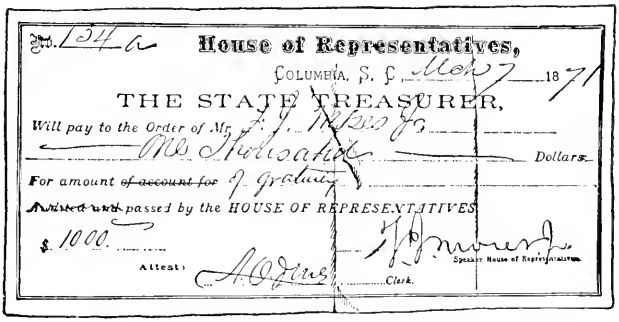
As a consequence of the reconstruction policy of Congress there was a complete reversal of *ante bellum* political conditions in the Southern States. The class formerly in control was now devoid of power and a new class ruled. The negroes, who composed the majority of the voters, were almost completely under the domination of the enfranchised whites; among these the carpet-baggers were in most of the States the ruling faction.* Many of these Northerners were men of integrity, but others were unscrupulous and exercised an influence for evil over the ignorant, excitable, and child-like negroes.

Abuses under the carpet-bag governments.

Under these conditions there began in the reconstructed States, the period of carpet-bag government—a period characterized by the greatest corruption. It was, in brief, the most complete travesty upon popular government that our country has ever known. There was in many States great extravagance in expenditures. Appropriations were made, the greater part of which found their way into the pockets of legislators, contractors, and politicians. Great amounts of money were borrowed by the issuance of State bonds. Heavy taxes were levied; these fell chiefly upon the property of the disfranchised classes. The indignities heaped upon the whites of the South were even more unbearable. In many cases both local and State offices were filled by ignorant and vicious negroes, who used their power to wreak vengeance upon their former masters and their political enemies.

* Exceptions may be found in Virginia and Georgia.

In Mississippi the State printing bill increased from $8,000 to $73,000 a year. The salaries of clerks in the Legislature, which had amounted in the aggregate to $30 or $40 a day, now became $150 a day. The tax rate ranged from 2½ per cent. to 5 per cent., while the property had greatly decreased in value. Six million acres of land, one-fifth of the total area of the State, were sold for the non-payment of taxes. In Alabama the State debt was increased from $8,000,000 to $25,000,000. In Tennessee a similar amount was added to the public debt. Enormous bond issues were made in various States in aid of railroads and other enterprises; in many cases, this money was simply stolen.


No. 134 a House of Representatives,
COLUMBIA, S. C., Mch 7 1871
THE STATE TREASURER,
Will pay to the Order of Mr. F. J. Moses Jr.
One Thousand Dollars
For amount ~~of account for~~ of gratuity
~~Audited and~~ passed by the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
$ 1000
Attest: A. O. Jones Clerk.
Speaker House of Representatives.

Facsimile of a "Gratuity" Voted to Governor Moses by the South Carolina Legislature in 1871

The white political leaders had created in many places Loyal Leagues and other organizations that fostered the negro's sense of his social equality with the whites and increased his desire for political activity. Soon there arose throughout the suffering communities of these States, various organizations of former Confederates, holding secret meetings and bent upon mutual protection and revenge for their wrongs. Mysterious warnings and midnight raids of white-robed horsemen were calculated to frighten negroes from voting and other participation in politics, and from dependence upon their white leaders. Negroes were frequently whipped. Many carpet-baggers and agents of the Freedman's Bureau and white school-

The use of violence.

teachers were driven away and some were murdered. Naturally, this exercise of violence went to extremes as these organizations, originally controlled by the better class, fell into the hands of the rougher and more lawless element. There resulted, therefore, a reign of terror conducted by secret and violent methods, such as other countries have witnessed when the oppression of government drove a class to desperation.

The names of some of these organizations were Knights of the White Camellia, White Brotherhood, and Pale Faces. The most famous was the Ku Klux Klan,* which originated in Tennessee (1866) among some young ex-Confederates seeking merely fun and excitement. These organizations spread throughout the South. Their clubs were called "Dens," and their officers had such titles as Grand Cyclops, Grand Magi, and Grand Turk.

The Force Law policy.

The terrible weapon that the white man thus raised against negro rule was striking down the freedmen's newly acquired civil and political rights. Congress retaliated by a series of Force Laws enacted in 1870–1871, fixing severe penalties for depriving any person of his civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, and especially for depriving one of his right to vote. The registration of voters and the election of members of Congress were placed under the control of the United States officers and courts. The President might suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in any region where he thought it necessary, and send United States troops to keep order. These acts virtually brought about military control of elections. In the next few years troops were frequently called upon to quell riots and to uphold the Republican authorities in various States.

Meanwhile, in one State after another, the Republican governments were being defeated at the polls by the white (Democratic) party.† This was brought about in various

* From Greek *kuklos*, meaning circle. See Brown's The Lower South in American History; also Atlantic Monthly, LXXXVII, 634–644.

†"This occurred in Tennessee, 1869; North Carolina, 1870; Texas, Georgia, Virginia, 1870–1871; Alabama, Arkansas, 1869; Mississippi, 1875."—Lalor, Encyclopædia, III, 554.

ways: (1) In some States, by the union of all the whites rendered desperate by the evils of the times; (2) by inducements offered to negroes to remain away from the polls; (3) by intimidation and violence; (4) by various sharp practices in the process of registration and voting, including the "stuffing" of ballot boxes.

The overthrow of the carpet-bag governments.

It was in this disturbed period of transition from the rule of the unfit to the rule of the intelligent voters of the reconstructed States, that the Presidential election of 1872 occurred. Much dissatisfaction had arisen during Grant's administration. Grant, depending upon the judgment of friends and politicians, had made many unwise appointments to office; consequently, scandals began to appear in the public service. The Republican policy of reconstruction was considered a failure; both the abuses of the carpet-bag régime and the outrages of the Ku Klux regulators aroused in the minds of many the demand for a change. "General amnesty" was advocated. Congress, in May, 1872, passed, by the necessary two-thirds vote, a bill granting amnesty to all but a limited class of Southerners, who were about 750 in number. Many persons felt that the continuance of the high protective tariff was an evil, and they demanded its reduction.

Horace Greeley

The election of 1872.

A mass convention of those who opposed the administration met at Cincinnati and organized the "Liberal Republican party"; their platform demanded the abolition of the Spoils System and "the immediate and abso-

Parties and candidates.

lute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion." Being divided upon the question of tariff reform, the convention made no declaration of policy, but left this question to the discretion of Congress. Quite unexpectedly, Horace Greeley was nominated as a candidate for President. The Democratic convention, meeting in July, adopted the platform of the Liberal Republicans and ratified the nomination of Greeley. The Republicans unanimously and with great enthusiasm nominated President Grant for a second term.

Horace Greeley.

Greeley failed to bring about the serious split in the Republican ranks that the reformers had worked for, and also failed to arouse enthusiasm among the Democrats. This is not strange in view of the fact that throughout his career he had been a bitter and formidable enemy of that party. He had been foremost in advocating the protective tariff. Furthermore, Greeley's character was not such as to bring serious approval of his fitness for the Presidential office. Of undoubted honesty, he seemed to lack consistency and firmness. Men called him erratic, and his personal peculiarities often inspired ridicule rather than respect.

The election was an overwhelming victory for Grant, who carried all but six States. Greeley, shattered in health and mourning the loss of his wife, was seriously affected by his defeat and died shortly after the election.

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2. Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. Burgess, Reconstruction and the Constitution, 8–20. Lincoln, Am. St. Series, II, 217–231; 243–245. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress, II, 34–39, 46–50. Stevens, Am. St. Series, 229–243. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 145. Seward, Am. St. Series, 396–406. Larned, Ready Reference. United States 1863 (December–July); 1865 (April 11).

3. Early life and character of Andrew Johnson. Blaine, II, 3–10. McCulloch, Men and Measures of Half a Century, 369–378.

4. Johnson's plan of Reconstruction. Burgess, 31–41. Blaine, II, 76–83. McCulloch, 378–386. Stevens, Am. St. Series, 244–255. Seward, Am. St. Series, 406–419. Larned, United States 1865 (May–July), (July–December).

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6. The Freedman's Bureau. Larned, 1865–1866. Burgess, 64–67; 87–90. Blaine, II, 162–172.

7. The Reconstruction Act of 1867. Burgess, 111–122. Larned, United States 1867, March. Stevens, Am. St. Series, 285–298. Arguments for and against this law are stated in Hart, Contemporaries, IV, Nos. 149, 150.

8. Speeches made by President Johnson. Blaine, II, 181–183; 237–239. Stevens, Am. St. Series, 265–269; 280–284. Burgess, 67, 102. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 148.

9. The impeachment. Larned, United States 1868 (March–May). Burgess, 172–177; 178–184; 190–194. Blaine, II, 363–375. Am. St. Series: Sumner, 346–351; Stevens, 323–348; Chase, 357–361. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 154. Elson, Sidelights, II, chap. 8.

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11. The Ku Klux Klan. Burgess, 250–252; 257–261. Larned, United States 1866–1871. Blaine, II, 467–475. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 156. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 36–40.

12. Charles Sumner's views on reconstruction. Sumner, Am. St. Series, 217–220; 255–260. On negro suffrage, 290–301 Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 146.

13. Election of 1872. Blaine, II, 524; 531–533. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 68–78. Linn, Horace Greeley, chap. 9. Elson, Sidelights, II, chap. 10. Stanwood, History of Presidential Elections, 276–301.

14. For readings on this chapter, see James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 25.

15. Fiction relating to the reconstruction period. Tourgee, A Fool's Errand. Page, Red Rock. Harris, Gabriel Tolliver.

CHAPTER XXVI

DIPLOMACY, FINANCE, AND POLITICS, 1865–1877

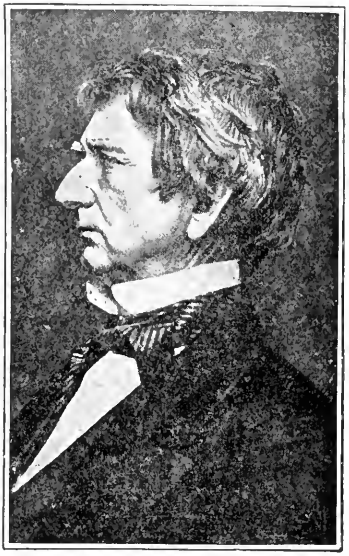
The acquisition of Alaska.

In 1867 Russia ceded to the United States the possession of Alaska, a territory of nearly 600,000 square miles, then inhabited by a few natives and considered of doubtful value. The compensation was $7,200,000. The relations between our country and Russia during the Civil War, when we most needed friends in Europe, had been cordial. Russia's sale of Alaska was another indication of this friendly spirit, combined, possibly, with the desire to check the expansion of England.

The application of the Monroe Doctrine in Mexico.

Another important diplomatic victory was won by Secretary Seward in 1867. A condition of civil war in Mexico had resulted in an agreement between France, Spain, and England to send there an armed force for the protection of their subjects and the collection of debts. The other nations soon withdrawing, France pursued this policy alone; and Napoleon III gave evidence that his intention was, in reality, the conquest of Mexico, in order to secure commercial advantages and prestige at home. He caused Archduke Maximilian of Austria to be elected Emperor of Mexico, and maintained him upon the throne by force of French arms. Against this policy the United States protested vigorously, but nothing further could be done while the Civil War lasted. At its close, troops were sent to the Mexican border, and Seward, threatening an invasion, skilfully insisted upon the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. This was finally done (1867).

Maximilian was left to his fate, and was captured and shot by troops of the Mexican Republic. Seward followed the Monroe Doctrine in stating the right of the Mexican people to determine their own form of government, and that French intervention in Mexico was an act of hostility to the United States.



William H. Seward

The *Alabama* claims.

During the Civil War the English Government refused to consider the question of its obligations in view of the injuries committed by the *Alabama* and other Confederate vessels built in English ports. There came a change of ministry, however; and the anticipation of war between France and Prussia, in which England might become involved, made that Government desire a more definite understanding as to the rights and duties of neutral nations. It would be extremely disastrous to British commerce if either France or Germany should use the ports of the United States as the Confederates had been allowed to use English ports.

The Treaty of Washington, 1871.

As the result of skilful diplomacy on the part of Secretary of State Fish, five English commissioners were appointed to meet at Washington with five representing this country. This Joint High Commission drew up the Treaty of Washington (1871), which was accepted by both countries. The treaty expressed "in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever

circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." It provided for the settlement of four disputes between England and the United States by the process of *arbitration*. This was the greatest treaty of arbitration the world had yet seen.

The Geneva Arbitration.

The most important of the disputed questions, that of the *Alabama* claims, was submitted to five arbitrators selected by the United States, England, Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil, respectively. For their guidance, rules concerning the obligations of neutrals were agreed upon, their substance being that neutral nations should use "due diligence" in preventing such acts as had been overlooked by the English Government, in the case of the Confederate cruisers. The Tribunal of Arbitration met at Geneva, Switzerland, and decided that the English Government, having failed to use due diligence, should pay $15,500,000 to the United States as damages. This amount was to be used to recompense the owners of vessels and cargoes seized and destroyed.

The other disputes involved (1) the north-western boundary between Canada and the United States. This question was submitted to the Emperor of Germany, who decided the correct line in the Straits of Fuca. (2) A dispute regarding the fisheries on the Atlantic coast was settled by a commission. (3) Another concerning claims made by citizens of both countries was likewise disposed of.

Thus the principle of arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations won distinct recognition.

Industrial effects of the Civil War.

Industrially, the effects of the Civil War upon the country were nothing less than revolutionary. In the revival of the cotton industry at the South there was a complete transfer from the basis of slave labor to that of free labor. The first effort toward adjustment was made in the maintenance of large plantations, worked by gangs of negro wage-earners. This proved unsatisfactory. Then the large estates were broken up into small tracts rented on shares to negroes. Later, negroes were able to acquire much land and to work it as small farms. At the same time, the poor whites, now able to compete in cotton raising, bought these cheap lands, and so obtained a more

independent status. The average size of farms in the Southern States fell from 335 acres in 1860 to 214 acres in 1870, and 153 acres in 1880.

Varied industries in the South.

The belief that slave labor was necessary to the production of cotton proved false. By the year 1876 the annual yield equalled that of 1860, and since that date there has been a great increase. With the disappearance of slave labor, moreover, Southern prejudice against other industries passed away. Crops were diversified; Northern capital found use in the exploitation of other resources of the South. Its water-power began to be developed and its coal-fields and mineral deposits were opened. Various manufacturing industries began to rise. Only beginnings in these directions were made before 1870; later, the industrial development of the South out of its *ante bellum* condition into "the new South" of diversified industries became rapid.

Nothern manufactures stimulated.

In the North the industrial consequences of the Civil War were also very marked. The demand for manufactured goods to supply the army and navy gave a spur to industries of all kinds. "An official report in 1869 declared that within five years more cotton spindles had been put in motion, more iron furnaces erected, more iron smelted, more bars rolled, more steel made, more coal and copper mined, more lumber sawn and hewn, more houses and shops constructed, more manufactories of different kinds started, and more petroleum collected, refined, and exported, than during any equal period in the history of our country—and that this increase had been at a more rapid rate than the growth of population." *

The war tariff and its retention.

The high tariff on imported goods also stimulated manufactures greatly. The average rate of duties was raised from the level of 20 per cent. in 1860 to 37 per cent. in 1862 and 47 per cent. in 1864. The chief reasons for this advance were the need of revenue and the necessity of protecting our industries, which were now subject to very

* Dewey. Financial History of the United States. 358.

heavy internal taxation, against foreign competition. The new rates were generally looked upon as temporary. But when efforts were made after the war to reduce the rates there were protests from manufacturers. The internal revenue taxes were repealed, year by year, as Government expenditures lessened. The import duties upon articles, such as tea and coffee, not produced in this country were taken off; but the protective duties remained. In 1872 a law was enacted reducing the latter uniformly ten per cent.; but the commercial crisis of 1873 gave rise to the demand for their restoration to the former level, and this was done in 1875. This, then, became the basis upon which our protective tariff system has since rested.

The Homestead Act, 1862.

Another indication of the industrial spirit of the North during the Civil War is the Homestead Act of 1862. The policy of giving Western lands free to settlers had been defeated, previous to 1860, by the Southern delegation in Congress. It was now adopted as a means of developing the economic resources of the North and making it more capable of sustaining the burden of the war. Any head of a family might acquire 160 acres of land by residing upon it for five years. This law stimulated the development of the West and helped to maintain the level of wages in the East by drawing off its surplus labor population. Immigration from Europe, which, on the whole, suffered a check during the war, was stimulated by the Homestead Act, and later rose to enormous figures. The immigrants were chiefly Germans and Irish.

The Pacific railways.

It was in accordance with the same policy of developing Western resources that Congress (1862–1864) voted aid for the construction of the Pacific railways.

Reasons for government aid.

Two lines, the Union Pacific, built westward from Omaha, and the Central Pacific, eastward from San Francisco, were given ten square miles of land for every mile of track laid. Besides this, the Government issued its bonds to the amount of $64,000,000 in aid of these roads, taking only a second mortgage upon

the property as security. A total of 23,000,000 acres was granted —an area larger than the State of Pennsylvania. In succeeding years, still larger grants were made to the Santa Fé, the Northern Pacific, the Texas Pacific, and the Southern Pacific railroads. There were political and military reasons, also, for this policy of governmental bounty. The people of the Pacific coast would be bound by stronger ties to the North; the movement of troops would be facilitated; the control of hostile Indians would be made easier; public lands would be made more accessible and more valuable. In May, 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was completed, when the two construction crews, who had been working from opposite directions, met at Promontory Point, Utah.

The decline of the merchant marine.

In the midst of general prosperity at the North, one industry suffered fatal depression. In 1860 sixty-six per cent. of the imports and exports of the United States were carried in vessels registered under our laws; in 1870, only one-half as much was thus carried, and the decline since then has been steady. Scores of vessels had been destroyed by Confederate cruisers; others were transferred to foreign registry. Iron and steel had superseded wood in marine construction, and the United States could not compete with foreign countries in building merchant ships.

Financial policies. Taxes.

The Government emerged from the war financially sound. Policies were now developed upon three subjects —the war taxes, the debt, and the legal tenders. (1) It has already been stated (see p. 441) that rapid reductions were made in the internal taxes and some duties, while the protective duties remained intact. (2) In September, 1865, the public debt was $2,846,000,000 *—its highest point. The policy of discharging rapidly this enormous debt was entered upon at once. Indeed, the rapidity and ease with which the reduction was accomplished are "without precedent among nations." The bonds, certificates, and notes representing the debt were of great variety. Under Secretary of the Treasury McCulloch, the demand and short-term obligations were taken up and new interest-bearing bonds were given in exchange. These bore 5, 4½, and 4

The debt.

* From this subtract $88,000,000 in the Treasury, leaving $2,758,000,000. Of this debt the legal tenders constituted $433,000,000 and the fractional paper currency $26,000,000.

per cent. interest instead of the 7.3, 7, and 6 per cent. rates of the original issues. By these refunding operations the Government saved great sums. Such were the stability and resources of the country that the new bonds sold at a premium, and "long before they matured the Government could borrow at a rate as low as 2½ per cent." Refunding operations.

The question arose, should the bonds not specifically payable in coin be paid in greenbacks? It was argued that the Government had received depreciated legal tenders for its bonds, and that therefore their payment in gold would be unjust to taxpayers. But as the legal tenders were still below par this would mean the virtual repudiation of a part of the debt, as it could not be shown that such payment was contemplated when the bonds were sold. This question had been an issue in the election of 1868. (See pp. 429-430.) The Republican victory and an act of Congress in 1869 settled the policy in favor of coin payment for all bonds.

(3) Though the legal tenders were regarded as temporary, when issued, their retirement was most difficult. During the war the monetary situation was one of inflation, *i. e.*, the amount of money was in excess of the demand for it in business. Prices were therefore high, and all business was conducted upon this inflated basis. In 1866 Congress authorized Secretary McCulloch to redeem the legal tenders in limited amounts from the surplus revenues, and to cancel those redeemed. This process was continued until the amount outstanding was reduced to $356,000,000, when it was stopped by an act of Congress (1868), responding to public criticism of this "contraction" of the currency. The United States notes.

The question was debated, should the United States retain the legal tenders as a permanent money, or should some policy of "resumption of specie payments" be enacted? Those who opposed the retirement of the greenbacks emphasized the evils that would result from the lower prices inevitably following contraction of the currency; the manufacturers and merchants who had stocks on hand would suffer, and also the debtors, including large numbers of farmers who had mortgaged their farms. The extremists of this belief urged further issues of irredeemable Arguments over the retirement of the notes

paper money in the interest of lively trade. On the other hand, the evils of inflation were pointed out; the uncertainty as to the amount of currency and its value had already led to a scandalous amount of speculation. The legal tenders, moreover, were a Government obligation, and public honor demanded the fulfilment of the promise to pay. The policy of resuming specie payments was supported by the strongest element of both parties, but the manner and time of beginning this process could not be settled upon.

Constitutionality of the legal tenders.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Chase presiding, decided (1869) that Congress had exceeded its powers in giving the legal tender quality to the United States notes and that for contracts made before their issuance these notes need not be accepted. In 1872, however, the court having in the meantime been changed by the accession of two new members, a decision was made upholding the constitutionality of the legal tenders as a war measure.

Causes of the crisis of 1873.

The crisis of 1873 was the outcome of the monetary situation and the great industrial activity of this period. The high prices had stimulated production until there was overproduction and a glut of the market. Investment ran into speculation, and the resources of individuals and corporations became tied up in unprofitable enterprises. This was especially true in railroad construction. Immediately after the war, rapid progress was made in the settlement of the central West and of California. Wheat-growing, especially, increased greatly. The development of these new fields gave an impetus to the building of railroads. Between 1868 and 1873, 28,000 miles were built—more than the total mileage of the country in 1859. This was greatly in excess of the growth and needs of the country, and the returns were consequently inadequate. It is apparent that both the paper money, upon the basis of which people estimated values, and industrial securities (bonds, mortgages, etc.) represented *fictitious* rather than *real* values. Such a condition could not long continue. When the demand came for the settlement of debts, for the payment of interest on investments, for the payment of specie at banks, the false valua-

tion was revealed and failures resulted. In September, 1873, there was a stringency in the money market in New York and the reserves of the banks were very low. Upon the appearance of a "scare," depositors demanded their money and banks were obliged to refuse payment. The panic ensued. There were 5,000 bankruptcies in 1873, and by 1878 the number was twice as large. Business stagnation ensued and the greatest burden fell upon the poor, for whom idle industries gave no employment.

The "inflation bill."

Immediately following the panic came a renewal of the demand for "more money." Consequently, Congress passed (1874) a bill increasing the amount of legal tender notes. President Grant vetoed this bill on the ground that prosperity could not permanently result from an artificial inflation of the money supply.

Resumption of specie payments.

In 1875 Congress gave tardy expression to the policy of resumption. It was enacted that on January 1, 1879, the Government would redeem the legal tenders at par in coin; to provide specie for this purpose, bonds might be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury. When the date thus fixed arrived, the notes were equal in value to gold. A reserve of considerably more than $100,000,000 was in the Treasury for their redemption. The people, however, called for the redemption of but few notes.

Grant's administration.

The overwhelming victory of the Republicans in the election of 1872 (see pp. 433–434) was offset by reverses met during Grant's second administration. The party in power during a financial crisis usually receives unmerited blame for the "hard times" that follow. On the score of official corruption, however, the party was justly criticised. The evils of the spoils system had led to the enactment of a law (1871) providing for a civil-service examination system. The foremost agitator in this cause was George William Curtis, and he was appointed by Grant chairman of a commission to administer the new law. There was opposition to the reform, however, and in 1875 Congress

refused further appropriations and the system was abandoned for the time.

Evidences of corruption.

Investigations disclosed the fact that a corporation called the Credit Mobilier, engaged in constructing the Pacific railroads, had sought to influence Congressmen by selling to them shares of its stock below market value. Collectors of internal revenue taxes upon whiskey were found, upon investigations prosecuted by Secretary of the Treasury Bristow, to be defrauding the Government of millions of dollars. A member of the Cabinet, Secretary of War Belknap, was found to be involved in frauds connected with the letting of contracts in his department. President Grant's personal honesty, it appears, was combined with great incapacity for judging the quality of his subordinates.

Samuel J. Tilden

The campaign of 1876.

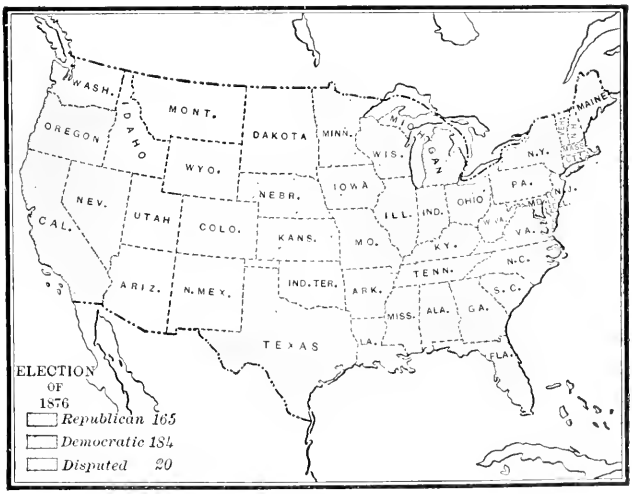
This official corruption gave the Democrats the opportunity to make *reform* the leading issue of the campaign of 1876. For their leader they selected Samuel J. Tilden, an eminent lawyer, formerly Governor of New York. He was prominent at this time through his work in prosecuting successfully the leaders of the infamous "Tweed ring," which had robbed the city of New York of some $100,000,000. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated as candidate for Vice-President.

For their candidate the Republicans turned from their prominent leaders, James G. Blaine, of Maine, Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, and Roscoe Conkling, of New York.

and nominated a "dark horse," Rutherford B. Hayes, a man of considerable experience, thrice Governor of Ohio. William H. Wheeler, of New York, was the candidate for Vice-President.

In response to the Democratic cry for reform, the Republicans dwelt upon the issue of Southern political conditions, the suppression of the negro vote, and the Civil War record of their opponents.* The parties differed flatly on the

Issues of the election.



Election Map of 1876

tariff question, but upon resumption the issue was confused: the Republicans indorsed the law of 1875, while the Democrats demanded its repeal without denouncing resumption. The contest was close for the first time since 1860. The Democrats carried all the doubtful Northern States (New York, Indiana, New Jersey, and

* This appeal to the prejudices of war times was called "waving the bloody shirt." It helped to solidify the Democratic white vote in the South and to prevent secession from Republican ranks in the North.

Connecticut) and claimed all of the Southern States, though their victory was disputed in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina.

Disputed election returns.

In these three States the carpet-bag governments were still in power, and the officers who canvassed the election returns (returning boards) were Republicans. They decided that there was evidence of fraud and intimidation sufficient to justify the rejection of votes in certain districts, and that the Hayes electors were elected. Other officers in those States, and in Oregon, where a question as to the qualifications of a Republican elector had arisen, reported that Democratic electors had been chosen. In each of these four States, then, two groups of electors met and voted for President, and double returns were sent to the President of the Senate to be counted.

Rutherford B. Hayes

In Congress, a rule in operation since 1865 that the electoral vote of any state should not be counted if either House objected, could not be reënacted because the House was Democratic and the Senate Republican. Tilden had 184 undisputed votes, and the counting of one vote from the States in dispute would make him President. On the other hand, it required all the votes from those States to give Hayes a majority.

The Electoral Commission.

No method being provided by the Constitution or by law to settle the question, which of the disputed votes should be counted, the two Houses finally agreed upon an extra-Constitutional process. An Electoral Commission was established, consisting of five Senators (three Republicans and two Democrats), five Representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five Justices of the Supreme Court (two of each party, the fifth to be chosen by these four). The fifth Justice selected was Mr. Bradley, a Republican, and the Commission decided by a strict party vote of eight to seven that it would accept the returns sent by the returning boards in the disputed States, without examining into the merits of their decisions. This gave the majority to Hayes.

The excitement and bitterness aroused by this contest subsided with remarkable ease, and the country once more demon-

strated its respect for the decisions of constituted authorities, regardless of personal feeling.

The policies of President Hayes.

President Hayes displayed an admirable quality in his firm stand against political corruption; he forbade the practice of assessing Government employees for political purposes, and aimed to make fitness a test in his appointments. He disappointed a large number in his party by withdrawing from Southern States the Federal troops hitherto maintained there to secure fair elections (see p. 432). This policy removed the last obstacle in the way of negro disfranchisement, and had the effect of removing the Southern question from politics. This administration was not marked by important party legislation, since the Democrats controlled either one or both Houses of Congress. They tried to enact Democratic measures by fixing them as "riders" upon urgent appropriation bills. These were vetoed by Hayes.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. The Geneva Arbitration. Charles Francis Adams, Am. St. Series 380–397. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 175. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 87–95.

2. Senator Sumner on the purchase of Alaska. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 174.

3. The industrial effects of the Civil War. Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States, 152–158, 188. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 266–267, 419.

4. Why was not the tariff reduced after the war? Taussig, Tariff History of the United States, 171–178.

5. What were the arguments for and against contraction of the currency? Dewey, Financial History of the United States, 335–339. For and against payment of the bonds in currency, 344–349. The history of resumption, 372–378. See also, Andrews, 263–267.

6. The panic of 1873. Andrews, 253–263. Larned, History for Ready Reference, United States, A.D. 1873.

7. The transcontinental railways and the Credit Mobilier Company. Andrews, 103–109.

8. The elections of 1872 and 1876 are treated in Wilson, Division and Reunion, 281–287. The disputed election of 1876, in Andrews, 205–221. Larned, Ready Reference, United States, 1876–1877. Government in State and Nation, 261–262.

9. For the history of the legal tenders and resumption, see Government in State and Nation, 212–214.

10. For the topics in this chapter, see James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 26.

CHAPTER XXVII

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

1866–1886

Industrial improvements after the Civil War.

THE industrial activity that followed the Civil War (see p. 439) was accompanied by changes that constitute almost another industrial revolution. The progress of invention that had been somewhat checked by the Civil War now proceeded with renewed vigor. New machinery and new processes multiplied rapidly. The most important of these were the Bessemer process of converting iron into steel, first used extensively in 1867, and the Siemens-Martin, or open-hearth method of 1869. Coke was substituted for coal in the reduction of the ore. The great activity in railroad construction (see p. 444) stimulated this industry, and the substitution of steel for iron rails made possible larger and more efficient rolling stock.

Steel manufacture.

At this time the opening of the great iron deposits of upper Michigan and Wisconsin, together with the cheaper processes, facilitated the substitution of steel for iron in all industries—the "age of steel" began. The manufacture of steel advanced westward, the ports of the Great Lakes being convenient meeting points for the iron from the north and the bituminous coal of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois.

This period saw the development of the petroleum industry to vast proportions. The copper mines of Michigan and the silver mines of Colorado yielded abundantly. The applications of electricity (in electroplating, electrotyping, etc.) began to assume importance.

The increased use of machinery.

This was also the age of machinery in a sense hitherto unrealized; in every manufacturing process, machines superseded hand labor. In the manufacture of flour nearly three-fifths of the laborers were displaced by machinery; in furniture factories, nearly three-fourths; in metal goods industries, one-third; in the manufacture of boots and shoes, four-fifths; and in cotton factories, one-half. Yet so great was the demand for the goods that were thus being produced more cheaply * and so numerous were the new lines of manufacture opened, that labor found abundant employment. In fact, the number of persons employed in productive industries increased at a faster rate than did the total population.

Corporations and large-scale production.

These great changes in mechanical methods necessitated changes in business methods that were no less important. The extensive use of machinery led to manufacturing on a large scale. Manufacturers then handled larger stocks of raw materials and of finished products, and this necessitated an increase of capital. This was in turn effected by the organization of *corporations*. In the competition between large establishments owned by corporations and smaller ones, the former had the advantage; for in various ways large-scale production is more economical than that conducted upon a small scale. Hence there was a decided movement toward the *concentration of industry*. The earnings from large-scale production were turned back into the channels of industry, and new fields were exploited. In numerous instances great fortunes were rapidly accumulated.

There now appeared more distinctly than ever before the separation of the employer, or capitalist, class from the laboring class.

In large establishments the intimate relations between employers and employees cannot exist. The latter lose their individuality and to a great extent their independence, as the extreme division of labor involves greater routine in processes. The corporation deals in a less human way with its employees, and its directors frequently sanction practices for which an individual

* The per capita consumption of iron rose from 105 lbs. in 1870 to 204 lbs. in 1880. Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States, 323.

employer would not wish to assume the responsibility. Moreover, the growth of large production favored the concentration of population in large cities.* Here conditions of life were less pleasant and the employment of women and children in factories increased rapidly. Under these conditions the contrast between the rich and the poor became more apparent; the sharp business methods and the profligacy exhibited by some of the "newly rich" aroused bitterness and hatred in the hearts of the mass of laborers. Sometimes attempts were made by corporations to conceal their great profits by *stock-watering*. Small stock-holders in corporations were frequently cheated by the juggling of accounts; and corporations were bankrupted by stock manipulators for their own profit. Such were some of the evils that accompanied the great changes in business organization.

Effects that followed the concentration of industry.

Before the Civil War a movement had begun for the organization of laborers corresponding to the organization of capitalists into corporations. Local labor unions were numerous, and some twenty-six national unions existed in 1860. The industrial changes mentioned above were extremely favorable to the progress of this movement, and new organizations were now rapidly formed.† Many trades-union newspapers were established at this time. Notable among the unions was the Knights of Labor, which combined in its membership workers of all industries, numbering in 1886 about 500,000. The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1881, was intended to centralize the control of this movement by affiliating a large number of unions under one national management.

The growth of labor unions.

The labor movement grew out of a general feeling of discontent with the new industrial conditions. The purposes of the unions may be summarized as follows: (1) The distribution of sick and death benefits. (2) The fostering of a spirit of coöperation

* See Government in State and Nation, p. 34, for statistics of urban growth.

† Unions were formed in the following occupations: railroad engineers (1863), cigar-makers (1864), bricklayers and masons (1865), railroad conductors (1868), furniture workers (1873), locomotive firemen (1874), iron and steel workers (1876), granite cutters (1877), carpenters and joiners (1881), railroad brakemen (1884), coal-miners (1885). Both national and international organizations were founded in many trades.

among working men. (3) The spread of educational influences, through meetings, papers, and discussions. (4) Common action looking toward the increase of wages, based upon the feeling that labor was not receiving its proportionate share of the profits arising from mechanical improvements. (5) A movement for shorter hours of work. (6) A demand for legislation insuring the safety and comfort of laborers, and the protection of women and children.

What labor unions have accomplished.

Themselves an evidence of growing intelligence among the working classes, the unions have had an educating and uplifting influence. Their demand for the scientific investigation of labor conditions by the government resulted in the State Labor Bureaus (first in Massachusetts, 1869) and the National Bureau of Labor (1884). Their demand for labor legislation resulted in a multitude of beneficent laws.* The hours of labor for women and children have been restricted (first in Massachusetts to ten hours a day, 1874). Since 1870 the unions have emphasized their demands for a uniform eight-hour day for all employees.

The first great strikes.

For securing higher wages and shorter hours labor unions depended to some extent upon strikes and "boycotts," sometimes accompanied by violence. In the early years of this period, these were seldom successful. In 1877 the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad struck against a ten-per-cent. reduction of wages; employees of the Pennsylvania system, with other grievances, followed this example. Sympathetic strikes on other roads and in other industries soon involved 100,000 employees. There ensued much violence, with the destruction of property and loss of life, especially at Pittsburg, Pa.

These events startled the public and directed attention to the labor problem. In 1883 there was an extensive strike among the telegraphers of the country, and two years later another occurred among the employees of the Gould system of railroads in the south-western States. In 1886 there was great unrest among the laboring classes

* For a list of these laws see Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States, 291–292; Government in State and Nation, 107–110.

in Chicago. During the course of a strike at the McCormick reaper works, workmen used violent methods and several were shot by police. These conditions culminated in the throwing of a bomb at a public gathering in Haymarket Square. Several policemen were killed and others were wounded. The act was regarded as the outcome of the teachings promulgated by certain anarchists who advised resistance to government authority. Four of these were hanged. Several years later, Governor Altgeld of Illinois pardoned three others, then in the penitentiary, on the ground that they had not had a fair trial.

The Chicago anarchists.

Business depression continued for some years after the panic of 1873. The movement of population into the central West was very rapid.* The production of wheat, corn, and other agricultural products increased apace. This fact, together with the lower cost of production, due to the use of improved farm machinery, and the lower cost of transportation, tended to cause decreasing prices for farm products. Thousands of farmers who had hopefully mortgaged their farms now found the interest burden growing heavier, and a spirit of discontent reigned throughout the agricultural West and South.

The growth of the central West.

There were real grievances, also, felt by the farmers in the methods employed by railroads. Freight rates on goods carried to cities where several lines were competing for business, were, naturally, low; while high rates were exacted at intermediate points where there was no competition There arose a movement (organized in 1867) among farmers, similar to that among factory employees. Local organizations, known as "granges," included by 1875 1,500,000 members. These were organized into State and national systems under the name "Patrons of Husbandry." Their purpose was partly educational, but chiefly they aimed to compel, by the

Railroad abuses and the Granger movement.

* Between 1870 and 1880 population here increased as follows: Minnesota, 77 per cent.; Iowa, 36 per cent.: Dakota Ter., 853 per cent.; Kansas, 173 per cent.; Nebraska, 267 per cent.

force of public opinion, legislation against abuses committed by railroads and other corporations. These organizations also assisted in the establishment of agricultural colleges and founded coöperative buying and selling agencies.

In several Western States (Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota) laws were enacted (1871–1874) prescribing maximum rates and establishing railroad commissions empowered to enforce these and other restrictive laws. The railroad managers fought bitterly against this legislation, arguing that theirs was a private business which the States could not control. The opposite contention, that, as corporations deriving their charters from the public, and as common carriers* performing public service, the railroads were subject to public control, was sustained by the United States Supreme Court in 1877.

European immigration.

One of the causes for the discontent of the laboring classes in these years was the severe competition arising from the immigration of European laborers. These numbered, for the decade 1870–1880, 2,261,000, chiefly German (700,000), English (460,000), Irish (436,000) and Scandinavian (211,000). During the next decade (1880–1890) the total number of European immigrants was more than doubled (4,721,000).

The Chinese on the Pacific Coast.

The coming of large numbers of Chinese to the Pacific Coast was the cause of turbulent demonstrations against them; their cheap manner of life, low wages, and their habit of returning home with their earnings, all added fuel to the flames of race hatred. In obedience to popular demand, Congress enacted a law (1882) excluding the Chinese laboring class from this country for a period of ten years.

The Greenback party.

During the period of business stagnation that followed the crisis of 1873, there arose a demand for "more money." A "Greenback" party was formed in 1876 with a Presidential candidate, Peter Cooper, who received, however,

* See Government in State and Nation, 100–101.

but 80,000 votes. Two years later the Congressional candidates of this party polled over 1,000,000 votes.

The fundamental principle of the Greenback party was a denial of the doctrine that money owes its value and acceptability to the *intrinsic value* of the material from which it is made. They contended that this is determined solely by the *quantity* of money in comparison with the business demand for it. It was argued that the government stamp, and that alone, gave value to anything that was made money by law. The government should therefore issue as much "fiat" paper money as business required, making no provision for its redemption, but allowing it to be convertible into government bonds bearing interest. This party denounced resumption, National banks, and the payment of bonds in specie. There were many men in both of the old parties who were either favorable to its views or afraid, for political reasons, to oppose them.

The resumption of specie payments (1879) and reissuance of the United States notes.

While refusing to repeal the resumption act of 1875 (see p. 445) Congress took another step opposed to contraction, in 1878, when it decreed that after the commencement of resumption (1879) none of the legal tender notes that were redeemed should be destroyed, but that all should be *reissued* in the ordinary course of business. Thus the total amount of these notes remained constant ($346,000,000). Business conditions, giving the United States a favorable balance of trade against Europe, enabled the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, to accumulate gold for the resumption fund; but no provision was made in anticipation of the troublous times when this could not be done (see p. 481).

The demonetization of silver in 1873.

The history of silver legislation in this period is closely related to the events above described. For many years previous to 1873, gold production was in excess of silver production, and very little silver bullion was brought to the mints for coinage. Silver dollars were exported, and were seldom seen in circulation. Public attention was therefore only slightly attracted to the law of 1873 revising the coinage regulations and omitting the silver dollar from the list of coins. Soon after this, silver production rap-

idly increased, especially from newly discovered deposits in Colorado.*

The free-silver movement.

The bullion value of the silver dollar was 102 cents in 1872; but by 1875 it had fallen to about 96 cents, and this tendency continued. In consequence, a demand arose in the silver producing States of the West for the return to the policy of *free silver coinage* † that had prevailed from the beginning of our government until 1873. This demand grew in intensity as the value of silver bullion declined, and a large portion of the Greenback party threw their influence in the same direction, since free coinage would mean expansion of the money supply. The strength of the movement is indicated by the fact that in 1876 and 1877 the House of Representatives passed bills for the free coinage of silver.

The free-silver movement gained great strength in the agricultural sections of the West and South, where there was a condition of business depression (see p. 455), as well as in the silver-mining States. This depression was due, it was claimed, to *contraction* of the currency. The decline of prices and the demonetization ‡ of silver were cited as proofs that there was contraction. The restoration of silver to its former place as a money metal, would, it was claimed, raise its value, increase the amount of money in circulation, restore the former level of prices, and bring as a result greater business activity.

A monetary compromise.

Free-silver advocates of more moderate views believed that an international agreement should be made before entering upon that policy. These men united with those

* Product of gold and silver in the United States in millions of dollars.

	GOLD	SILVER		GOLD	SILVER
1861	$43 mil.	$2 mil.	1873	$36 mil.	$36 mil.
1865	53 "	12 "	1874	34 "	37 "
1870	50 "	17 "	1875	33 "	31 "
1871	44 "	24 "	1876	40 "	35 "
1872	36 "	29 "	1877	47 "	37 "
			1878	51 "	40 "

† Free coinage of any metal exists when any person may bring bullion to the mint and have it coined; the government undertakes to coin all that is brought. See Government in State and Nation, 207–208.

‡ *I. e.*, the stoppage of free coinage in 1873 by the United States and, at about the same time, by several European countries

who stood for the single gold standard in the enactment of a compromise law—the Bland-Allison act of 1878. This law authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion and to coin it into silver dollars of the standard weight (412.5 grains), which were to be full legal tender.* Under this law $378,000,000 were coined, but silver bullion continued to decline in value, and, another period of business depression occurring in 1882–1884, the demand for free-silver coinage continued.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States, has the following topics: The tendency to concentration in the iron and steel industries, 176–179. Labor organizations, chaps. 19, 20. Strikes on the Pennsylvania and the Gould railroads, 301–309.

2. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time. The Greenback party, 274–275, 290–291. The Granger movement, 281–282. Labor movement, 285–293. The Chicago anarchists, 530–535. Chinese immigration, 356–381. Euorpean immigration, 707–714.

3. Dewey, Financial History of the United States, the Greenback party, 378–382. Silver legislation of this period, 403–410.

4. Bogart, Economic History of the United States. Silver legislation, 346. Large-scale manufacturing, 373–379. Labor unions, 425–426, 442–444.

5. For source readings on the topics of this chapter, see James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 27.

* See Government in State and Nation, 183. The holders of these dollars might deposit them in the Treasury and receive in exchange *silver certificates* in the same amounts, as a more convenient form of money. *Ibid.*, 186.

CHAPTER XXVIII

POLITICAL CHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, 1880–1890

Party nominations for the election of 1880.

POLITICALLY, the administration of President Hayes was successful. We have seen (p. 449) that he closed the epoch of Reconstruction by withdrawing the Federal troops from the South. The Republican party profited by his sensible, conservative guidance, and by his honest efforts in the direction of official purity. For the Republican nomination for President in 1880, there arose a contest between the supporters of General Grant, whose popularity was at this time greatly increased by his return from a trip around the world, and the opponents of a "third term." The latter were divided in their support of James G. Blaine and John Sherman. The warring factions finally united upon James A. Garfield of Ohio, with Chester A. Arthur of New York as candidate for Vice-President.

The Democrats nominated Gen. Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania and William H. English of Indiana.

Mr. Garfield was reared in poverty, but he secured a college education and became president of Hiram College, Ohio. In the Civil War he had shown marked ability, rising to the rank of General; he had been a Republican leader in Congress since 1863.

General Hancock had had little political experience, but his record as a soldier was brilliant. A graduate of West Point, he had seen service in the Mexican War; he had contributed much toward the victory at Gettysburg, where he commanded the left center of the Union Army. His nomination strengthened the adherence of the War Democrats.

Republican success and the "Solid South."

In this campaign, as in 1876, the past records of the two parties, chiefly upon Civil War, reconstruction, and financial policies, were debated. The result was remarkable in the clear division between the sections. The Republicans who were successful, carried all the Northern States, except New Jersey, Nevada, and California; while the Democrats carried every Southern State. The "Solid South" was a product of reconstruction times.

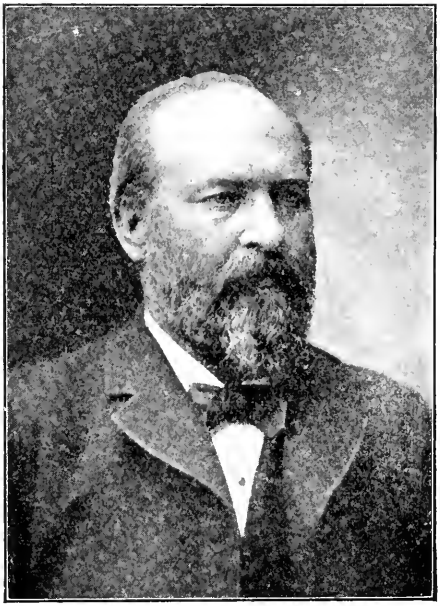
Population map, 1880.

In this section practically all the white voters were united in the party which opposed negro suffrage, regardless of their views upon other questions.

Factional quarrels within Republican ranks

The contest between the two Republican factions was renewed when President Garfield appointed, as Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, the personal enemy of Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, who had been leader of the Grant faction. Garfield also nominated as collector of the port of New York a candidate who was personally and politically unacceptable to Conkling. The confirmation of the latter appointment by the Senate would violate the

principle of "senatorial courtesy"* and the issue was most bitterly contested. The Senate finally sustained the President. Senators Conkling and Platt resigned, but the legislature of New York refused to vindicate them by reëlection.



James A. Garfield
After a photograph by Bell—the last picture made before the assassination

The assassination of Garfield.

The opening months of Garfield's administration were otherwise perplexed by questions involving the distribution of "spoils." He was gladly seeking release from these cares by leaving Washington, when he was shot down (July 9, 1881) at the railway station by Charles Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, who thought his act was necessary to prevent a split in the Republican party. The

* See Government in State and Nation, p. 275.

sympathy of the entire world was given to the stricken President during the weeks that followed. On September 19 his long struggle for life was ended.

President Arthur.

Vice-President Arthur, who now succeeded Garfield, had been hitherto unknown by the country, outside of political and social circles in New York. There were fears that the consequences following the succession of other Vice-Presidents would be repeated; but, fortunately, Arthur rose to the situation and showed himself to be an able, fearless executive.

George William Curtis

The struggle for civil service reform ends successfully.

The events above recited had served to emphasize the evils of the spoils system, its debasing effects upon political contests, and the burden inflicted upon members of Congress and the President. Besides, the evil practice of requiring assessments, called "voluntary contributions," from Government employees had been in full operation during the preceding campaign, as a method of paying expenses. Since the failure of the civil service law of 1871 (see p. 445), the fight for reform had been continued by independent thinkers and able reformers, led by George William Curtis and Carl Schurz. The practice of requiring competitive examinations had been inaugurated in some departments under Hayes; and now politicians who relied upon gifts of public offices to maintain their political stations were no longer able to resist the pressure

of public opinion. A law was enacted (1883) requiring the examination system for clerks in the departments at Washington and in the larger customs houses and post-offices. Political assessments were forbidden. Arthur appointed a strong commission to administer the law.*

The nomination of Blaine in 1884.

The close friends of Arthur wished to see him nominated by the Republicans for President in 1884, and both Senator Edmunds of Vermont and Senator Logan of Illinois each had a strong following. But there was great enthusiasm, especially in the West, over James G. Blaine, who became the Republican standard bearer. Blaine's personality—he was called the "plumed knight"—was very attractive; his public record was long and brilliant;† he had stood for conservative Republican measures and had exercised great influence in the policy of that party during and after the war.

The "Mugwump" movement.

Blaine's nomination was followed by a most serious "bolt" from Republican ranks on the part of the reform element in that party. The "Mugwumps," who refused to support him, were strongest in New York and New England. They included many leading editors, educators, and men of culture; while many others of equally high character remained loyal to the party. This movement was strengthened when the Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland of New York as their candidate. Opposition to Blaine was based upon three propositions: (1) He was accused of having had dishonorable dealings with corporations while a member of Congress.‡ (2) He was regarded as a representative of "machine politics," *i. e.*, the arbitrary and sometimes corrupt control of the Republican party by a few men. (3) Blaine's foreign

* For further details in the history of the civil service law, see Government in State and Nation, pp. 238–240.

† House of Representatives, 1863–1876; Speaker, 1866–1875; United States Senator, 1876–1881; Secretary of State, 1881.

‡ While this was most strenuously denied, some of Blaine's friends now admit that his acts had been "indelicate"; but the practices of public men were not at that time so severely judged as at present.

policy, developed while he was Secretary of State, was considered unsafe (see p. 470).

The campaign of 1884 was filled with bitter personalities; the Southern problem attracted little attention for the first time since the Civil War, and the tariff question became of more importance. In the election, the Demo-

The election of a Democratic President.

Grover Cleveland
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crats carried the "Solid South" and the doubtful Northern States, including New York, where the result apparently turned upon the "mugwump" movement.

Cleveland, the first Democratic President since Buchanan, represented a new type of politician in that position. His previous record in public office as Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York had marked him as fearlessly *independent* in both word and action. His

President Cleveland's record.

vetoes checking corrupt and extravagant measures had become famous. He stood for honest, business-like administration of government by officers who were *public servants* in fact as well as in name. During Cleveland's administration the Republicans retained control of the Senate, and no great party legislation was enacted. Important laws passed were the Presidential Succession Act,* a law increasing the size of the navy and placing it upon a modern footing, and the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.

Railroad consolidation leads to the Interstate Commerce Act, 1887.

The measure last mentioned was the outcome of conditions briefly discussed in a previous chapter (see p. 455). While various States were trying, by laws that were more or less strict, to supervise and regulate railroads, short lines were rapidly being consolidated into longer ones. Through lines were thus established between the great cities, and an increasing proportion of the business became *interstate* instead of *intrastate*. With this change there came about a condition of sharper competition at cities that were railroad centers, resulting in discriminations and rate wars. The Granger movement included a demand for Federal legislation regulating railroads as a corrective of these abuses, and two Congressional committees (reporting in 1874 and 1886), made recommendations looking toward this end. In 1886 the Supreme Court rendered a decision which defined interstate commerce as that beginning in one State and terminating in another, and which placed all such commerce within the jurisdiction of Congress exclusively. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was accordingly passed.

Constitution, Article I, section 8, clause 3.

This law established a Commission of five persons with power to investigate and to report concerning grievances and violations of the act. Railroad charges must be just and reasonable; unjust discrimination between persons or localities were prohibited; pooling was declared illegal;

* Members of the Cabinet succeed to this office in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President. See Government in State and Nation p. 229.

there should be full publicity of rates.* This act marks an era in the history of transportation in this country.

The tariff as a political issue.

In the political contests of the years between 1876 and 1884, Civil War questions, pertaining chiefly to reconstruction and finance, and the personalities of candidates were the leading issues debated. In the decade that followed, the *tariff* became the all-important issue. Upon the question of protection the voters of the Republican and Democratic parties had not been clearly divided; though in theory, and for campaign purposes, the former party had stood for protection and the latter for a low tariff. Fundamentally, this was an economic and business question, rather than a political one, and within the ranks of the Republicans were Westerners who objected to the payment of high prices on manufactures when the necessity for war taxation had passed; while particularly strong in the Democratic ranks was an element in the East who desired the continuance of protection for their industries.

The tariff commission of 1883.

In 1882 there was a general demand within both parties for the revision and reduction of the tariff, which still stood practically upon its war basis. Such reduction was advocated partly as a means of reducing the great surplus that was rapidly accumulating in the Treasury,† and partly because there was a wide-spread conviction that the protective system should not become the permanent policy of the country. Recognizing the purely economic aspects of tariff-making, Congress authorized the appointment of a non-partisan commission of nine persons (not members of Congress) who made an investigation and report (1883) recommending reductions of from twenty to twenty-five per cent. in the

* For a more detailed statement see Government in State and Nation, pp. 176, 177.

† The reduction of this surplus by the redemption and retirement of the greenbacks was opposed for fear of contraction of the currency: its reduction by the payment of United States bonds before they were due would reduce the amount of bonds that were available for use in securing National Bank notes.

duties. In Congress the work of these experts was rejected; special interests made strong appeals for the continuance of protection, and the result was a law, passed the same year, which revised the tariff in a haphazard way, retaining a great many of the high protective duties. Western farmers were particularly dissatisfied with the repeal of the duty on wool, and this contributed to the defeat of the Republican party in 1884.

Cleveland's tariff message, 1887.

The division in the Democratic ranks on the tariff question prevented the House of Representatives from passing a new tariff law in the early part of Cleveland's administration. But the President was a radical tariff reformer and devoted his entire annual message in December, 1887, to this subject. He made the tariff question a clear issue between the parties. The Democrats now stood for a tariff "for revenue only"; the Republicans said that this meant "free trade," and they went further than ever before in advocating protection as a permanent National policy. They demanded the protection of American laborers against competition with laborers in European countries where the scale of wages was much lower.* They argued that the products made by European "pauper labor" should not be allowed to undersell the products of American laborers. It was answered that the protective tariff caused high prices in this country, which offset the high wages; and that the profits arising in the protected industries were not fairly divided between the manufacturer and his workmen.

The election of 1888.

The tariff question constituted the main issue in the election of 1888. The Democrats nominated Cleveland as a matter of course. The Republican candidate was Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, a lawyer of great ability and experience. He had an excellent war record, and

* American workmen were receiving on an average of one and one-half times the English wage, twice that paid in Belgium, three times the rate customary in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. Coman, Industrial History of the United States, 299.

had been a United States Senator between 1881 and 1887. Besides the tariff issue, the record of Cleveland's administration was debated, and many of his Mugwump friends deserted him because of the free distribution of offices to Democrats. The result, a substantial victory for the

Benjamin Harrison

Republicans, may be regarded as a popular verdict in favor of the principle of the protective tariff.

The reduction of the surplus.

The Republicans now went forward with a free hand in their solution of pending questions. The reduction of the surplus was accomplished by the enactment of a service, or dependent pension law;* and by the repeal of

* This pensioned all Union soldiers who had served ninety days and were now unable to earn a living, and also their widows, children, and dependent parents. Pension expenditures now rose from $89,000,000 in 1889 to $106,000,000 in 1890, $118,000,000 in 1891, and $141,000,000 in 1892.

the duty on raw sugar, which had yielded a revenue of $50,000,000 annually.

The McKinley tariff law, '890.

In the McKinley tariff law, of which this was a part, the protective duties, previously averaging about forty per cent., were made fifty per cent.—a restoration to the war basis. As measures favorable to agricultural interests, the law included duties on agricultural products—small amounts of which were imported from Canada—and a provision for a *bounty* on all sugar produced in this country. A "reciprocity" section of the McKinley law authorized the President to order the collection of high duties upon sugar, molasses, tea, coffee, and hides imported from countries whose tariff rates upon our exports were unusually high. Under this measure, for which Secretary of State Blaine has the credit, reciprocity treaties were negotiated with several South American countries. They reduced their duties upon our machinery and produce in recognition of our policy of placing the articles above mentioned upon the free list, when imported from those countries.* The McKinley tariff law was the principal issue in the election of 1892, and the popular verdict was against it (see p. 479).

Reciprocity treaties.

Blaine's foreign policy.

James G. Blaine, who was now for the second time Secretary of State, represents in that office a new policy in foreign affairs, the complete application of which has come about only within recent years. In its foreign policy our Government, since its establishment, had stood on the defensive, and had not sought occasions for initiating new movements. Blaine aimed to emphasize the leadership of the United States in the Western Hemisphere by proposing a Congress of all the American nations (1881). After the succession of President Arthur this plan was dropped. In 1888 Congress passed a resolution providing for such an international conference, and it met at Wash-

* Reciprocity treaties were also made with Germany and Austria, where duties were lowered on our agricultural products and manufactures in return for our reducing the tariff rates on beet sugar produced in those countries.

ington in 1889–1890. Secretary Blaine, as President of the Pan-American Congress, exercised great influence. While the direct results of the meeting were not great—principally a declaration in favor of the arbitration of all disputes among these nations—the indirect benefits were considerable. This was the beginning of a better understanding and a closer friendship among the American Re-

The Pan-American Congress.

James G. Blaine

publics. Soon thereafter was established the Bureau of American Republics at Washington. Succeeding Congresses carried on the work thus begun, meeting at the City of Mexico (1901) and at Rio Janeiro (1906, see p. 513).

During the administration of Harrison (1889–1893) six new States were added to the Union. North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, Idaho

and Wyoming in 1890. The territory of Oklahoma was created (see p. 474). Other important measures of this time were the Sherman silver coinage act (see p. 480) and the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890.

Industrial tendencies of this period.

In order to understand the last-mentioned law it will be necessary to recall the leading features of the new industrial tendencies that followed the Civil War. These features were: the increase of manufactures, the cheapening of production through the use of machinery, the growth of capital, the increased means of transportation, the combination of small industries into large ones, and the growth of great corporations. The *concentration of wealth* is the most significant feature of this period; and further progress in this direction was seen in the tendency of corporations to *combine* instead of *competing*.*

Reasons for concentration of industry.

The principal reason for the combination of rival concerns is found in the greater economy of large-scale production. This economy is due to (1) the greater division of labor, (2) the better organization of management, (3) the more extensive use of machinery, and (4) the greater utilization of by-products and the saving of waste. Another explanation is found in the fact that the expansion of manufactures in this period had resulted in the *over-production* of many wares; and competition for their sale had become more fierce, and in some cases ruinous. Hence the managers sought to eliminate competition by combination.

Methods of combination.

Combination was accomplished in several ways: by one establishment purchasing rival plants; by the larger plants underbidding the smaller ones in the sale of products, and thus forcing them into bankruptcy; and by agreements upon prices among rival companies. This was the origin

* The following statistics of manufacturing establishments in the United States illustrates this tendency.

Adapted from Ely, Monopolies and Trusts, 183, and based upon the census of 1890.

YEAR	ESTABLISHMENTS	EMPLOYEES	PRODUCT	PER ESTABLISHMENT EMPLOYEES	PER ESTABLISHMENT PRODUCT
1870	252,000	2,053,000	$3,385,000,000	8.15	$13,428
1880	253,000	2,700,000	5,349,000,000	10.66	21,101
1890	322,000	4,476,000	9,056,000,000	13.88	28,071

of the *trust*, the logical outcome of the tendency toward concentration in industry.

The earliest trusts.

The term "trust" was applied to the agreement under which the directors of several corporations surrendered their powers to a board of trustees who managed the entire business of the combined plants. This procedure being declared illegal by the courts, the trust took the form of a new corporation, which included the stockholders of the former independent plants.*

The first great trust was the Standard Oil Company. By various methods of competition, and by securing rebates from railroads, this company obtained control of the oil-refining business in the central States. In 1882 a trust of oil companies was formed, but, being dissolved by the courts, it reorganized as the Standard Oil Company, with practical control of this business. The success of this enterprise was largely due to the genius of John D. Rockefeller.

Anti-trust legislation.

The example of the Standard Oil Company was soon followed by capitalists in many other lines of manufacture: sugar, whiskey, lead, cotton oil, linseed oil, etc. The efforts of managers to avoid competition were supplemented by another motive—that of securing a monopoly and enhanced profits. Prices of trust-made goods were in some instances raised, and great popular discontent resulted. In many States anti-trust laws were passed, forbidding the formation of agreements that tended to destroy competition, control prices, or limit production. Congress was also called upon to take action, and in 1890 the Sherman anti-trust law was enacted. As Congress has no direct control over industries operating solely within a State, its action was confined to prohibiting agreements or combinations in restraint of commerce among the several States and with foreign nations. Great difficulty was experienced by both State and National governments in enforcing their anti-trust laws, and the process of consolidation in industry continued.

Indian wars of the West.

The removal of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River (see p. 308) could not constitute a settlement of the troublesome problem of Indian relations that had ex-

* See Government in State and Nation, 202–203.

isted since colonial times. Westward migration pushed constantly upon the limits of Indian lands. The settlers even invaded the numerous reservations of which the natives were to have had secure possession; they demanded the privilege of cultivating those unused acres of fertile land. Government treaties and obligations were violated in many cases. Chiefly owing to these encroachments, Indian outbreaks and wars were frequent in the West, both before and after the Civil War. The Apaches of Arizona, the Modocs of Oregon, and the Sioux were especially difficult to subdue. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of Dakota brought the whites into conflict with the Sioux. They made a formidable resistance in 1876, in the course of which they completely destroyed a detachment of United States troops, including their commander, General Custer. This occurred on the Little Big Horn River, the Indian chieftain being Sitting Bull.

Attempts to civilize the Indian.

The condition of settled hostility between the Indians and the Government was modified by President Grant, who inaugurated a "peace policy." Missionary activity among the Indians was encouraged; the Government aided church schools on the reservations and established at considerable expense its own schools. Still, conditions on many of the reservations were deplorable. Some of the tribes were unable to support themselves and received Government bounty. The Indian agents who acted for the Government were appointed on political grounds, and in many cases were unfit and dishonest.

A new land policy.

In 1887 Congress enacted the Dawes bill. Under the direction of a commission the Indian lands were to be allotted among the individuals of the tribes, instead of remaining under tribal ownership, as previously. In 1889 a portion of Indian Territory was purchased by the Government and set off as Oklahoma Territory. Its settlement was very rapid; cities of good proportions grew up within a few days' time. The Territory soon supported a prosperous agricultural population.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Why was there opposition to Grant's having a third term? See p. 231. Also, Government in State and Nation, 255–256, question 2*a*. Has this matter arisen in connection with any President since Grant?

2. The relations of Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield. Elson, History of the United States, 849–854. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 319–328.

3. Has there been any serious break in the Solid South since 1880?

4. What other Vice-Presidents have succeeded to the Presidency in our history? Compare the results in those cases with the results following the succession of Arthur.

5. What was the origin of the spoils system? See pp. 305-306. What other Presidents besides Garfield seriously felt the burden of office-seekers? See p. 320.

6. Civil Service Reform. Government in State and Nation, 276–279, 281–282 (References). Elson, History of the United States, 854–856. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 230–235, 341–342. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 199.

7. The campaign of 1884. Blaine, Am. St. Series, 277–290. Accusations against Blaine, *ibid.*, 144–176. Elson, 857–861. Andrews, 452–480. Sparks, National Development, 335–351.

8. Do you approve of the Mugwump movement of 1884?

9. For references on the Interstate Commerce Law of 1887, see Government in State and Nation, 180.

10. Interstate Commerce and the law of 1887. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 317–327. Coman, Industrial History of the United States, 319–325.

11. Cleveland's tariff message of 1887. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 164.

12. The tariff of 1890. Dewey, Financial History of the United States, 438–440.

13. The growth of manufacturing on a large scale. Bogart, 373–379.

14. The trusts. Bogart, 400–416. Coman, Industrial History of the United States, 325–331. Dewey, National Problems, chap. 12. For references, see Government in State and Nation, 180.

15. The new navy. Andrews, 487–490.

16. The Pan-American Congress. Andrews, 409–416.

17. On the Indian problem, see Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor; also her novel, Ramona. Mrs. Custer, Boots and Saddles. Andrews, Our Own Time, 186–193.

18. James and Mann. Readings in American History, chap. 28.

CHAPTER XXIX

INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS, 1890–1897

Discontent in the agricultural sections.

It is a fundamental fact in the economic situation of these years that the rural sections did not enjoy to the same degree the prosperity that prevailed in the commercial and manufacturing centers. The marked movement of population toward the cities* is an evidence of the greater material gains to be earned there, besides the greater educational and social advantages of urban life. The prices of agricultural products steadily declined.† The lessening profitableness of farming and the disadvantages of farm life, which now became more apparent, bred a widespread spirit of *discontent* throughout the agricultural South and West. An organization known as the "Farmers' Alliance" was the outcome of this feeling; this had local and State branches and held national conventions. By

* In 1870 about twenty per cent. of the population lived in cities of more than 8,000 population; in 1890 the percentage was nearly thirty. See Government in State and Nation, 34.

† The following table of prices is compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1894:

YEAR	CORN, PER BU.	WHEAT, PER BU.	COTTON PER LB.	SALT PORK PER LB.	SUGAR PER LB.	BUTTER PER LB.	TOBACCO PER LB.
	DOLLARS	DOLLARS	CENTS	CENTS	CENTS	CENTS	CENTS
1870	.925	1.29	23.5	13.2	12.6	29.3	11.4
1875	.848	1.12	15.0	10.1	10.8	23.7	11.3
1880	.543	1.25	11.5	6.1	9.0	17.1	7.7
1885	.54	.86	10.6	7.2	6.4	16.8	9.9
1890	.418	.83	10.1	6.0	7.0	14.4	8.6
1894	.46	.67	7.8	8.0	4.4	17.6	8.5

1891, this organization included several millions of members and controlled a thousand newspapers.

The evils complained of

Among the grievances leading to this movement were the following: (1). The increasing number of mortgaged and rented farms. (2). The increase in corporate wealth; also, the fact that stocks, bonds, and other intangible evidences of this wealth in the hands of individuals easily avoided taxation. (3). The power exercised by railroads in arbitrarily fixing rates, and other corporate extortions made possible by the formation of combinations and trusts. (4). Speculation in agricultural products and the formation of "corners" by wealthy brokers in the cities. (5). The growing political influence of corporations and men of wealth. (6). The increased use of money in politics, leading to the corruption of voters, delegates, and legislators.

In their efforts to assign the causes and to find the remedies for their ills, the agricultural population was right in some respects and wrong in others. There was a disposition in the East and North to ridicule this movement; but in recent years measures have been adopted to check the evils complained of (see pp. 518-519, 521-522).

Criticism of monetary policy.

It was natural that many of these evils should be attributed to the monetary policy of the Nation since the Civil War. This policy, it was asserted, was deliberately adopted by the Government for the benefit of Eastern capitalists. The depression of prices, ascribed to the contraction of the money supply, was a "conspiracy" to favor creditors at the expense of debtors. The Farmers' Alliance therefore demanded an increase of our paper currency, and the free coinage of silver.

The People's party.

The grievances and demands above stated became the platform of the People's or Populist party, which represented the political side of this movement.

This party originated in Kansas, held its first national convention in 1891, and became the most formidable third-party movement since the Civil War. It controlled the Democratic party in two elections (1896 and 1900), and the spirit of its doctrines has to some extent permanently influenced the creeds of both Republicans and Democrats.

In the Presidential election of 1892, Harrison and Cleveland were the logical candidates of the Republicans

and Democrats respectively, though each was opposed by a powerful faction in his own party. Since both parties were divided within their own ranks upon the question of free silver coinage, they avoided that issue by adopting planks favoring international bimetallism, which every one knew to be a policy extremely difficult of attainment. The McKinley tariff law became, therefore, the leading issue of the campaign. As this act seemed to have caused an advance in the prices of manufactures, without a corresponding advance in wages, the popular verdict was in favor of the Democrats.

The election of 1892; the silver and tariff questions.

The People's party in this campaign demanded: the enactment of laws checking corporate corruption; the free coinage of silver; the issue of paper money to farmers upon the deposit of produce in Government warehouses; free trade and the restriction of immigration; the Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones; an income tax; shorter hours for labor, and the enforcement of the National eight-hour labor law; the prohibition of alien and large-tract land ownership. Their candidate for President was General James B. Weaver. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming, the Democrats nominated no candidates, the Populists taking their place. In some Southern States the Populists and Republicans united. The third party cast over 1,000,000 votes and elected twenty-two Presidential electors.

The Populist platform.

In the State and Congressional elections of 1894 this party cast 1,500,000 votes and the issues it presented could no longer be ignored by the two great parties. The most pressing of these issues was that of free silver coinage.

It has been stated (p. 458) that the Bland-Allison act of 1878 was a compromise measure, enacted to satisfy in part the growing demand for the coinage of all the silver bullion that might be brought to the mints. Under this act 378,000,000 silver dollars had been coined by 1890; but this did not have the expected result of raising the

The question of free coinage.

price of silver in the market.* Efforts made in Congress between 1885 and 1890 to enact free coinage were as fruitless as were opposing efforts made to stop the coinage of silver under the existing law. Neither of the great parties dared to legislate upon the subject, since both were divided upon this issue within their own membership. Several new Western States, in which industrial discontent was very strong, were at this time admitted into the Union (see p. 471). Many of the Senators and Representatives from these States favored the free coinage of silver, and a bill to this effect passed the Senate in 1890. It was rejected by the House and a compromise was finally enacted known as the Sherman law.†

The Sherman act, 1890.

Under this law, 4,500,000 ounces of silver were to be purchased monthly by the Secretary of the Treasury at the market price. This bullion was to be stored, and Treasury Notes were to be issued in payment for it, which were to be redeemable *in coin*. This called for an increased purchase of silver—practically the entire product of the country. The law declared it to be the policy of the Government to maintain the value of gold and silver coins *at a parity*. This meant that neither should be allowed to depreciate below face value.

The decrease of the gold reserve.

The improvement in the value of silver under this law was but temporary,‡ and now arose other complications.

* Average price of silver per ounce, in London:

1878	$1.15	1891	$ .88
1880	1.14	1892	.87
1885	1.065	1893	.78
1890	1.046	1894	.63

Statistical Abstract of the United States.

† Says Senator Sherman in his Recollections (Vol. II, 1069–1070): "Some action had to be taken to prevent a return to free silver coinage and the measure evolved was the best obtainable. I voted for it but the day it became a law I was ready to repeal it, if repeal could be had without substituting in its place absolute free coinage."

‡ For a more extended discussion of bimetallism, see Government in State and Nation, 183, 184.

Since the resumption of specie payments (1879), a gold reserve of at least $100,000,000 had formed a part of the stock of money in the Treasury. This had been used, when needed, to redeem the United States Notes, and it was now falling in amount rapidly.* The principal reasons for the withdrawal of large amounts of gold from the Treasury are found in the commercial conditions of the time, which caused a balance of trade against the United States. As this balance had to be paid in gold, and as the stock of gold in banks was reduced, the bankers asked the Government to redeem United States Notes as a means of obtaining it.

The policy of the Government in redeeming paper money.

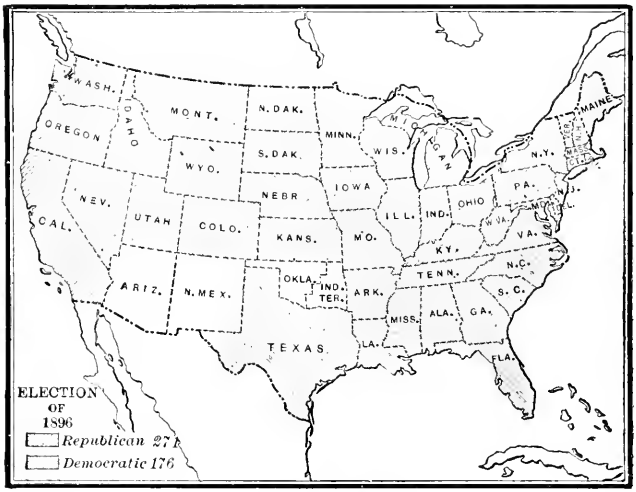
Since the law of 1878 (see p. 457) required that these Notes, when redeemed, be reissued, they could be brought back for redemption repeatedly, thus constituting an "endless chain" for drawing gold from the Treasury. Furthermore, the new Treasury Notes were redeemable in coin, and the Government chose to redeem them *in gold*, when that was requested. It did so for fear that their redemption in silver, under these circumstances, should destroy the confidence of the commercial world in the willingness of the United States to pay its obligations in gold. This would cause gold to go to a premium (since the intrinsic value of the silver in a silver dollar was but $.67 in 1892), and the parity of the two kinds of money would be destroyed. The United States would then go to a silver basis, and a financial panic would ensue.

The panic and the stoppage of silver purchases.

Fear of the results thus predicted caused the hoarding of gold by banks and individuals, and a severe financial panic began in the summer of 1893. President Cleveland, who attributed these troubles to the continuance of silver purchases and the issuance of Treasury Notes, called a special session of Congress, requesting the repeal

* The gold reserve in the Treasury was as follows, on June 30 of the years indicated: 1890, $190,232,000; 1891, $117,667,000; 1892, $114 342,000; 1893, $95,485,000; 1894, $64,873,000. Dewey, Financial History of the United States, 442

of the silver purchase clause of the Sherman Act. This was accomplished, after a bitter struggle in the Senate (November, 1893). The gold reserve continued to decline,* and in 1894 and 1895 four bond issues were made



Election Map of 1896

as a means of replenishing it. The National debt was thereby increased $262,000,000.

The silver issue in the election of 1896.

The steps thus taken by Cleveland's administration to maintain the gold standard aroused the bitterest enmity in the silver-producing and agricultural sections of the country. The silver question became the main issue in the Democratic National convention at Chicago in 1896. The free-silver (Populist) wing of that party gained control, nominating William Jennings Bryan of

* There was a decrease in revenue receipts, due to the high protective duties of the McKinley Act, the decline of business during the panic, and the fear of tariff revision that might follow the Democratic victory of 1892.

Nebraska as their candidate for President and inserting in the platform this plank: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

William J. Bryan.

Bryan was the youngest man ever nominated for the Presidency, being then but thirty-six years of age. He was a lawyer residing at Lincoln, Nebraska. He had served in Congress for two terms. Bryan's victory in the convention over Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, is partly attributed to a brilliant speech in which he said: "We answer the demand for the gold standard by saying, 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'"

William Jennings Bryan

From a stereograph, copyright 1900, by Underwood & Underwood

The Populist party ratified the nomination of Bryan for the Presidency, but named their own candidate for the Vice-Presidency (Thomas Watson, of Georgia) instead of approving the Chicago convention's nominee, Arthur Sewall, of Maine.

The "Gold Democrats."

A large section of the Democratic party, particularly in the North and East, was dissatisfied with the result of the Chicago convention, and another Democratic ticket (the nominees being John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky) was placed in the field. This wing of the party declared for the gold standard; but many of the "Gold Democrats" voted the Republican ticket.

The Republican nominations and platform.

The Republicans, in their national convention nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, and G. A. Hobart, of New Jersey. Their platform declared that the party was "opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." A great "campaign of education" now ensued, the opposing forces being divided sectionally (see map, p. 482).

William McKinley

The free-silver argument.

On the free-silver side the argument was in favor of "more money" as a means of relieving distress and bringing about prosperous times. More substantial were their contentions that the period of falling prices was due to the use of gold alone as a measure of value; that this contraction of the basis upon which values rested wrought an injustice to debtors; and that the same cause produced business stagnation. They urged that the free coinage of silver by the United States alone would bring that metal to a parity with gold at the ratio of 16:1, and would satisfy the demand for a larger supply of full value money.

The single-standard argument.

The gold-standard argument attributed the decline of prices, and the consequent enhancement in the purchasing power of gold, to improvements in methods of production, through inventions and large-scale production; to the opening of new sources of raw materials; and to the lower cost of transportation. It was claimed that the benefits of lower prices counterbalanced any injury to debtors. The rapid opening of new Western lands and the competition of grain from India, Russia, and the Argentine Republic were cited as the cause of low prices for agricultural products. Free-silver coinage would result in depreciated silver money. The great commercial nations of the world were bound to maintain the gold standard, and the United States must conform to this practice.

The campaign resulted in a decided Republican victory, but the vote for Bryan was so large (6,200,000 as compared with 7,100,000 for McKinley) that the free-silver element took courage and looked forward to victory in 1900. In this they were disappointed. Other events intervened (chapter 29) which greatly strengthened the Republican administration, and still others which were unfavorable to the silver cause (see p. 507). In consequence, the gold standard was again successful in 1900; and in that year, too, Congress enacted a law providing for its maintenance.

Republican victory and the decline of the silver cause.

Turning now to the important events of Cleveland's second administration (1893–1897) we note first his policy toward the Hawaiian Islands. At the close of Harrison's administration our relations with Hawaii were in an unsettled state.

Hawaiian relations

These islands were first visited by missionaries in 1820, and the natives became Christianized. Later, foreigners became the predominant element; the industries were largely in the control of Americans, who were, however, comparatively few in numbers. Hawaii was originally an absolute monarchy; the foreign element had compelled the adoption of a constitution in 1887, and it was the attempt to abrogate this, in January, 1893, that led to a revolution, incited by Americans. Queen Liliuokalani was deposed. The provisional government then formed was recognized by President Harrison, and a treaty of annexation was drawn up and submitted to the Senate.

When President Cleveland assumed his position (March 4, 1893) he withdrew the treaty of annexation and sent a special commissioner to investigate Hawaiian conditions. He reversed his predecessor's policy, on the ground that the revolution had been assisted by United States troops from a man-of-war, and that the recognition had been hasty. While annexation was thus delayed, the Queen was forced to resign, and the Hawaiian Republic was formed, with a constitution that provided for future annexation to the United States. After the succession of McKinley (1897), there was still lacking a two-thirds

Cleveland's Hawaiian policy.

The annexation of Hawaii, 1898.

majority of the Senate favorable to the ratification of the treaty of annexation; but this step was accomplished by a Joint Resolution (July, 1898). Hawaii was given the government of an organized territory.*

The Venezuelan question.

Upon other questions of foreign policy, Cleveland's administration was independent and emphatic. England and Venezuela had for many years disputed over the boundary between the latter country and its neighbor to the east, British Guiana. It seemed that British territorial claims had been gradually extended westward until they threatened the control of the mouth of the Orinoco River. While the English government agreed with Venezuela upon the desirability of settling this controversy by arbitration, it declined to include in the arbitration all of the territory which, according to Venezuelan claims, was actually in dispute. In other words, England, if brought to the test, would use force in excluding Venezuela from a portion of the disputed territory. The United States Government had at various times used its influence in favor of settling the question by arbitration; and now (November, 1895) in a dispatch sent by Secretary of State Richard Olney to our minister at London, Mr. Bayard, its position was announced in a most emphatic manner.

Olney's dispatch to Bayard.

The opinion was stated that the refusal of England to arbitrate the entire question called for intervention by the United States, on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine (see p. 288). England was endeavoring to exercise political control over an independent American power; the interests, welfare, and safety of the United States were thereby endangered. Secretary Olney stated the relations of the United States to the other American powers thus: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." It is "master of the situation, and practically invulnerable as against other powers."

When the English Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, refused to accept our Government's view and again refused the arbitration desired, President Cleveland sent (De-

* See Government in State and Nation, 275.

cember, 1895) a message to Congress, recommending that a commission be created, composed of United States citizens, to determine the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and to report to Congress. He concluded: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela." This was a distinct threat of war, and it created a profound impression both at home and abroad. Opinions differed upon the policy of the administration; many high authorities* opposed it as an undue extension of the Monroe Doctrine. Popular opinion supported it, however, and Congress appropriated $100,000 for the expenses of the commission which was appointed by the President. Fortunately, the English Government receded from its position, consenting to the arbitration of all lands reasonably in dispute. The services of the Commission were not needed, and a Tribunal of Arbitration finally fixed the boundary line.

Cleveland's policy and his threat of war.

The disagreeable danger of war during the discussion over this incident led to the negotiation of a treaty with England providing for the submission of future disputes with that country to arbitration. Although it was supported by popular sentiment, this treaty was rejected by the Senate. The need for such an agreement had been more than once apparent. Two troublesome questions still unsettled involved the rights of American and Canadian fishermen on the Atlantic Coast, and the protection

The arbitration treaty.

* See Woolsey, America's Foreign Policy, 223–238; also, Forum, February, 1896. On the contrary, Foster regards Olney's dispatch as embodying "the most complete and satisfactory statement of the Monroe Doctrine thus far made." A Century of American Diplomacy, 470. See *post*, p. 513.

Fisheries and sealing questions.

of the seal fisheries of the Alaskan waters. The former of these assumed an acute stage during Cleveland's first administration, but an agreement was finally reached by the two governments. The claims of the United States to jurisdiction over seal-catching in the entire Behring Sea gave rise to a sharp controversy and some use of violence. This question was submitted to a tribunal that sat at Paris (1893) and decided adversely to our Government's claim.

The Centennial Exposition and the World's Fair.

The first great American exposition was held at Philadelphia, in 1876, celebrating the centennial anniversary of our independence. This had an elevating and enlightening influence, stimulating greater interest in the artistic side of life, as well as spreading knowledge of new industrial processes. The year 1893 saw the greatest of world's expositions, that at Chicago, in celebration of the discovery of America. With a total of twenty-seven million admissions, this "World's Fair" was an educational and unifying force of great importance. While its predominant features were, of course, industrial, it was no less impressive artistically. On the intellectual and religious sides the World's Congress, of which the Parliament of Religions formed a part, was a notable achievement. Here was the best evidence of that breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit which stand among the remarkable products of the nineteenth century.

The advance of women into new fields of activity.

The Chicago Fair emphasized in various ways the recent advancement of women: their entrance into new industrial fields, the remarkable growth of women's organizations, and the beneficent work accomplished by women in moral and civic reform, as well as in the direction of self-culture. Accompanying these significant changes in the sphere traditionally occupied by women, was a growing recognition by the general public of their right to higher education, and their ability to profit by it. This was indicated by the more general admission of women to

collegiate courses and the establishment of new women's colleges.*

Other indications of educational advance in this time were: the rapid growth of the number of students in colleges and universities; the expansion of college courses and the introduction of the elective system; the employment of new methods of research by advanced students; the improvement of high-school courses and equipment; and the increased attention paid to elementary education, especially in cities. These changes were accompanied by the greater study and application of the science of education.

Educational progress in colleges and common schools.

The great writers of the earlier period of our history (see p. 303) continued their work after the Civil War; and a new group of authors arose, notable particularly for originality and for their interpretation of purely American phases of life and character. Prominent among these were the novelists and short-story writers: Bret Harte, Henry James, Frank Stockton, F. Marion Crawford, C. H. (Joaquin) Miller, William D. Howells, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward. Among the poets there were Walt Whitman, Edmund C. Stedman, T. B. Aldrich, and R. W. Gilder. There was a new group of critics, historians, and essayists: John Fiske, George W. Curtis, C. D. Warner, T. W. Higginson, and Edward Eggleston. Humor and "local color" were displayed in the works of Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, E. W. ("Bill") Nye, and Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain"). For the first time in our history, the South was adequately represented in the field of literature; prominent among its writers were Joel Chandler Harris, Paul Hayne, George W. Cable, Thomas N. Page, and Sidney Lanier. On the whole the work of the writers in this period dis-

The new group of American authors.

* Vassar, 1861; Smith, 1875; Wellesley, 1875; Radcliffe, 1879; Bryn Mawr, 1885; Barnard, 1889; Mt. Holyoke, 1888 (established as a seminary by Mary Lyon in 1837). In 1900 one-third of the students in all the colleges of the country were women.

played variety, freshness of spirit, and a truly American tone that mark this as an epoch in our intellectual history.

The popularization of literature.

There was a remarkable advance in the arts of photography and illustration, accompanied by the multiplication of magazines and the enlargement and increased circulation of newspapers. American artists and architects began to achieve marked success and raised the standards of artistic merit in this country.

Inventions and improved processes cheapen and multiply the products of manufacture.

The period of industrial depression that followed the panic of 1873 was followed by a period of activity that grew in intensity toward the end of the century, though interrupted for a short time by the crisis of 1893. Before 1865 the largest number of patents issued in a single year was about 5,000. Between 1867 and 1879 the average number annually was nearly three times that number; for each of the twenty years succeeding 1879 the average number was about 23,000. Some of the new processes and products in this period added greatly to the comfort of life; such were the systems of heating by steam and hot water, and new methods of sanitary plumbing. There came into use cheap processes of canning fruit, vegetables, and meats, and methods of "packing" meats, both leading to the establishment of immense industries and adding a great variety of foods to the dietary of all classes. The manufacture of artificial ice and the process of refrigeration made possible the storage and shipment of many perishable food products hitherto unattainable at a distance from their sources of production.

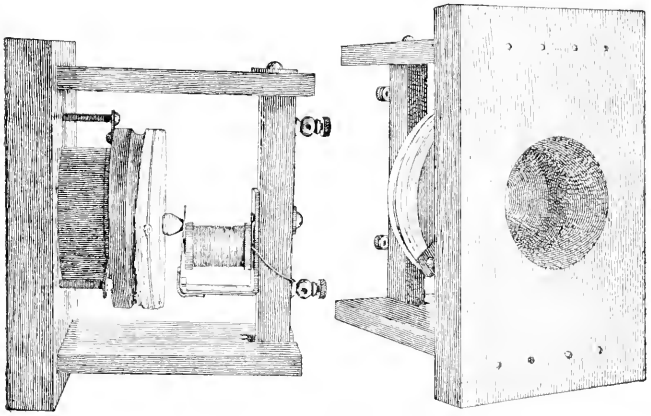
Changes affecting agriculture.

The application of the roller process in flour manufacture, accompanying the opening of the new north-western wheat fields, revolutionized that industry The product of the local "grist mills" of the central States, with their water wheels and millstones, was underbid by "patent" flour from Minneapolis. The fields of those States were now planted with corn, and stock-raising and dairying became the great industries of the central West. At the

same time creameries and cheese factories, with improved appliances,* sprang up. Oleomargarine was first manufactured in this period.

Some important inventions

Of labor-saving inventions we may enumerate the typewriter, sulky plough, self-binding reaper, compressed-air rock drill. The Hoe web printing press, the linotype, stereotyping, and improved methods of paper-making (the sulphite process of pulp manufacture), rendered printing much cheaper and increased enormously the output of books, newspapers, and pamphlets. Travel was made more safe and comfortable by the Westinghouse air



Side and front views of Bel. s first Telephone
The instrument shown at the Centennial Exposition

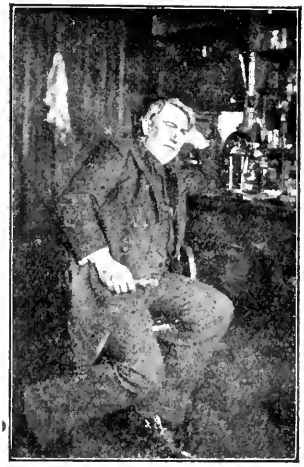
brake, vestibuled trains, and systems of automatic signalling. Cable street-car lines and, later, trolley car systems stimulated the expansion of cities. Another class of inventions gave us dynamite, smokeless powder, the magazine rifle, the Whitehead torpedo, and automatic guns. The bicycle, assuming its present form in 1875, became extensively used about 1890, and added much to the convenience and pleasure of thousands. Improvements in passenger elevators, coinciding with the cheapening

* Professor Babcock, of the University of Wisconsin donated to that State his milk-test invention, which has revolutionized the dairy business and added millions of dollars to the value of dairy farms throughout the world.

in processes of steel manufacture, and the application of the steel-cage method of constructing buildings, gave us the first "sky-scrapers" of our great cities.

The "age of electricity" was begun.

The most remarkable industrial advance of this period was in the field of electrical appliances. By 1870 electric dynamos had been made practicable, though their extensive use came later, with improvements in the long distance transmission of electric currents. The Bell telephone was invented in 1876; later, the arc and incandescent lights* were introduced. Storage batteries and electric-welding followed, and the trolley car became common. Manufacture in all departments was facilitated and cheapened by standardization (parts of machines being made in standard sizes and shapes), and the consequent use of interchangeable parts.



Thomas A. Edison

The Chicago strike of 1894.

One of the most notable strikes in our history had its center in Chicago in 1894. Employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company struck for the restoration of wages that had been reduced. These workmen were members of the American Railway Union.† Although advising against the strike, the Union supported its members when the Pullman Company refused to arbitrate the questions

* Thomas A. Edison is the greatest inventor in our history. Before 1900 he had registered 727 patents, among which were the incandescent lamp, phonograph, microphone, and kinetoscope.

† The formation of this union was an attempt to counteract the influence of the General Managers Association (1886) which unified the policies of more than twenty railroads centering in Chicago.

at issue, or to "recognize" the Union. A sympathetic strike was ordered, in which train men refused to move trains containing Pullman cars. Within a few days there was a general paralysis of commerce centering in Chicago. In spite of the efforts of city officers, state militia, and special United States marshals to maintain order, and to facilitate the movement of trains by non-union men, there was great danger to life and much destruction of property in Chicago. Finally, President Cleveland ordered Federal troops to the scene, for the purpose of preventing the obstruction of mail trains and interstate commerce. This was done against the protest of Governor Altgeld of Illinois.* An injunction was issued by a Federal Court against the officers of the American Railway Union, forbidding them to issue further orders in pursuance of the strike. The President of the Union, E. V. Debs, and other officers, were convicted for disobedience of this injunction.† The strike was a failure, but a United States Commission of investigation condemned the refusal of the Pullman and railroad officials to arbitrate.

The use of Federal troops.

The Democrats having come into power in 1893 on the tariff issue, President Cleveland urged Congress to reduce customs duties. The "Wilson Bill," as it passed the House of Representatives, accomplished a reduction and placed some raw products (sugar, wool, lumber, etc.) on the free list. This bill was radically amended in the Senate in the direction of protection, largely through the influence of Senator Gorman of Maryland. There were charges of corrupt influences used by the Sugar Trust and other favored industries. The amended bill passed Congress, but Cleveland denounced it and allowed it to become a law without his signature (1894).

A Democratic tariff law.

In this action and in the very large number of vetoes sent to Congress during his term, Cleveland showed a sturdy independence that won for him many friends outside his party.

* See Government in State and Nation, 317–318.

† *Ibid.*, 203.

The income-tax law.

An unanticipated feature of the Wilson-Gorman law, and one showing the influence of the Populist element in the Democratic party, was an income tax; all incomes over $4,000 were to be taxed two per cent. upon the excess above that amount. This part of the law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on the ground that it levied a direct tax, which should have been apportioned among the States, instead of being made uniform.*

A Republican high tariff measure.

Upon the resumption of power by the Republicans under McKinley in 1897, another tariff revision occurred, this time in the direction of higher protection. The Dingley law marks the highest average of duties (over 50 per cent.) in our history. Reciprocity was provided for by this law, and a few reciprocity treaties were concluded with foreign governments. Other more important treaties were rejected by the Senate, the representatives of sections having protected industries refusing consent to any reduction of duties. The radical protective policy of the United States led to the enactment of retaliatory tariffs by some foreign countries.

The Mormons and Utah.

When the Mormons settled in Utah (p. 304), they hoped to remain isolated from governmental control. In 1850, however, Utah was made a territory, with Brigham Young as governor. The Federal Government successfully maintained its authority over that territory, passed laws prohibiting polygamy (1862 and 1882), and dissolved the corporation of the Mormon Church because it supported that illegal practice. The enforcement of these laws, after much delay and opposition, was followed by the renunciation, by the church authorities, of the doctrine sanctioning polygamy (1890). Utah, though possessing in that year 207,000 population, was refused admission as a State. It was finally admitted, however, in 1896, after the adoption of a State Constitution prohibiting polygamy.

The Civil Service Law, as originally passed in 1883 (p. 463), placed about 14,000 Federal employees under the

* See Government in State and Nation, 168, 169. Constitution, Article I. section 8, clause 1; Article I, section 2 clause 3.

examination system. All of the Presidents after that date extended this requirement to larger numbers of employees and to other branches of the civil service. By 1892, 43,000 officers were included in the merit system, and during Cleveland's administration this number was doubled, becoming 87,000. McKinley, however, in 1899, removed some 10,000 employees from the classified service, in order, it was stated, to rectify errors made in previous extensions of the rules.

Progress in civil-service reform.

Under Harrison, Theodore Roosevelt made a notable record as a member of the Civil Service Commission. He stated the argument for the merit system tersely, as follows: "They [offices] can no longer be scrambled for in a struggle as ignoble and brutal as the strife of pirates over plunder; they no longer serve as a vast bribery chest with which to debauch the voters of the country. Those holding them no longer keep their political life by the frail tenure of service to the party boss and the party machine; they stand as American citizens, and are allowed the privilege of earning their own bread without molestation so long as they faithfully serve the public."*

The benefits of the reform.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Compare the Populist movement with the "wave of Democracy," in Jackson's time. How many of the Populist demands (p. 479) are now favored by their former enemies?

2. On the silver legislation of 1890 and 1893, see Dewey, Financial History of the United States, 436–438, 440–447. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 349–351.

3. Compare the attitude of the great parties toward free silver with the position of Whigs and Democrats upon slavery issues.

4. The election of 1896. Elson, History of the United States, 885–889. Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, 773–787. Dewey, National Problems, chap. 20.

5. Bryan's speech in the Chicago convention. Hart, Contemporaries, IV, No. 171.

6. Hawaii. Andrews, 700–706.

7. The Venezuela boundary question. Andrews, 706–707. Olney's statement of the Monroe Doctrine. Hart, Con-

* Atlantic Monthly, February, 1895.

temporaries, IV, No. 179. Cleveland's Venezuelan message. Macdonald, Select Statutes, 413–418. Larned, History for Ready Reference, United States, 1895; Venezuela.

8. Did Monroe's message of 1823 (see pp. 288–289) contemplate such a controversy as that over the Venezuelan boundary?

9. Why the arbitration treaty with England was rejected. Larned, History for Ready Reference, United States, 1897.

10. Mention a work or works by each of the authors mentioned on p. 489.

11. Give reasons why the United States surpasses all other countries in the number of inventions.

12. Make a list of conveniences of this time which your parents could not have enjoyed in their youth.

13. What is the economic reason for "sky-scrapers"?

14. The electrical inventions. Andrews, 669–678. Sparks, National Development, 37–51.

15. The Chicago strike. Andrews, 722–735. Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States, 313–317. Dewey, National Problems, 291–296.

16. The tariff of 1894. Dewey, Financial History of the United States, 455–458.

17. The Mormons and Utah. Sparks, Expansion of the American People, 410–418. Andrews, 600–604.

18. James and Mann, Readings in American History, chap. 29.

CHAPTER XXX

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

Spain's traditional colonial policy continued in Cuba.

In the earliest period of American history, Spain's colonial policy, like that of other nations, rendered her colonies dependent upon the mother country, and sacrificed their interests, when it was necessary, to bring this about (see pp. 23–26). The loss of all her colonies on the main land of the American continent, in the early part of the nineteenth century, did not teach Spain the lesson in colonial management that was being learned by other nations. Her former policy was continued in the government of Cuba until the year 1898.

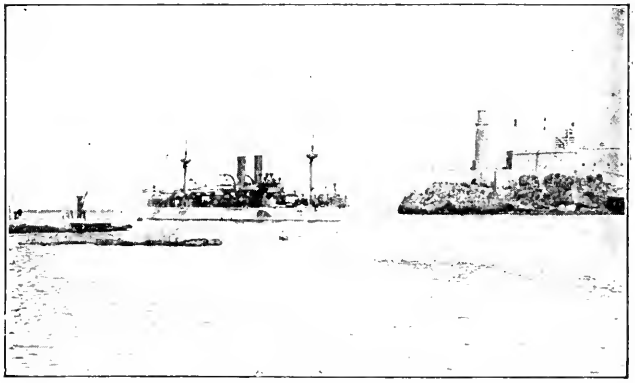
1. Duties on goods imported into Cuba were so adjusted as to compel Cubans to purchase in Spain. 2. There was excessive taxation, levied by arbitrary methods, and bearing upon industries that needed encouragement rather than repression. 3. The currency and banking systems of Cuba were cumbersome and inadequate. 4. The administration of Cuban affairs was in the hands of Spanish officers, native Cubans being disqualified. These officers were frequently but political parasites. Intelligent Cubans felt keenly their treatment as inferiors by the mother country.

The ten years' rebellion in Cuba.

There were numerous conspiracies and uprisings against the Spanish power, beginning in 1823. A formidable rebellion lasted from 1868 to 1878. This was caused by the Spanish refusal to grant reforms, including such ordinary political privileges as freedom of speech and of the press, besides the right of Cubans to hold office and to be represented in the Spanish Cortes. The cost of suppressing this rebellion ($300,000,000) was added to the

Cuban debt, which continued to grow until in 1898 it amounted to $283 *per capita*—"more than three times the *per capita* debt of Spain and much larger than the *per capita* debt of any other European country." *

At the close of the ten years' revolt, mentioned above, Spain extended the Spanish constitution and laws to Cuba, and thus technically granted the reforms that had been demanded, including representation in the Cortes But Cubans claimed that these reforms were merely on



United States Battle-ship Maine entering Havana Harbor, January, 1898
From a photograph. Copyright, 1898, by J. C. Hemment

paper and that practically the government of the island was as oppressive as before.

Spain's strict policy in suppressing revolution.

The burden of taxation and bad economic conditions led to another insurrection in 1895. The United States declared a policy of strict neutrality, and President Cleveland offered his services in mediation between Spain and Cuba, but without effect. Meanwhile, popular sympathy for the Cubans grew strong in the United States. This was increased, and to it was added deep indignation,

* Report on the census of Cuba. War Department, 1899. This document contains a summary of Cuban history.

when the horrors of the "reconcentration" policy became known. The non-combatant country population, who sympathized with the insurgents and gave them assistance, were compelled to leave their homes and move to the nearest towns, where thousands, including helpless women and children, died of starvation and disease. Supplies were voted by Congress, and also gathered from private sources, to be forwarded to the suffering Cubans. A "junta" of Cubans operated in the United States and succeeded in sending many filibustering expeditions with aid to the insurgents, though the United States Government exercised due diligence to prevent them.

The destruction of the *Maine*.

Public opinion in this country gradually became exasperated with the apparent inability of Spain to conquer the Cubans, and her unwillingness to grant terms that the latter would accept. Hostile feeling was increased when, on February 15, 1898, the American battle-ship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana, causing the death of two officers and 264 sailors. A Naval Board of Inquiry reported that the explosion came from outside, while Spanish officers, who also examined the wreck, declared that it was internal.

McKinley's statement of reasons for intervention.

President McKinley undertook by diplomacy to bring Spain and the Cubans to agree upon terms of peace, but without success; the latter would be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence. On April 11, 1898, the President asked Congress for authority to take measures that would put an end to the war in Cuba. Said he: "The present revolution is but the successor of other similar insurrections which have occurred in Cuba against the dominion of Spain, extending over a period of nearly half a century, each of which, during its progress, has subjected the United States to great effort and expense in enforcing its neutrality laws, caused enormous losses to American trade and commerce, caused irritation, annoyance and disturbance among our citizens, and by the exercise of cruel, barbarous, and uncivilized practices of

warfare, shocked the sensibilities and offended the humane sympathies of our people."

The declaration of war

On April 19, Congress demanded the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, and authorized the President to use the army and navy, if necessary, to bring this about. A formal declaration of war followed. Cuba was recognized as free, but the United States disclaimed any intention "to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof." The war was thereby justified upon humanitarian, rather than selfish, grounds.

The Philippine Islands

War in the Philippines.

On May 1, 1898, Commodore Dewey, who had been stationed at Hong Kong, China, with an American squadron, captured or destroyed all of the vessels of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, Philippine Islands. Later, American troops captured the city of Manila.

The blockade of Cuban ports.

The American fleet in the Atlantic blockaded the port of Havana, Cuba, and watched for the arrival of the Spanish fleet, which, it was feared, might attack some of the defenceless coast cities. The enemy's fleet, under Admiral Cervera moved with secrecy, crossed the Atlantic and finally sailed into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. The American squadron, commanded by Admirals Sampson and Schley, kept guard, ready to attack when it ap-

peared. Lieutenant Hobson made a daring attempt to blockade the narrow channel leading into Santiago harbor by sinking a vessel across it; but he was unsuccessful.

The invasion of Cuba.

While these events were occurring, the small regular army of 26,000 men was supplemented by 200,000 volunteers. The War Department was entirely unprepared to cope with the problems of feeding, equipping, and transporting these troops. There resulted much suffering and loss of life in the American camps during the summer that followed.

The West Indies and Adjacent Shores

An army of 15,000, under General Shafter, was sent to Cuba, landing near Santiago. On July 1 and 2, 1898, the Spanish troops were defeated in the battle of San Juan. Conspicuous among the American troops was the cavalry regiment, known as the "Rough Riders" commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood. This regiment had been organized by its Lieutenant-Colonel, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Spanish fleet destroyed.

On July 3, the Spanish fleet sailed out of Santiago harbor, was immediately attacked, and totally destroyed. Later, the Spanish forces at Santiago surrendered. It was now discovered that the Spanish fleet had been in a demoralized condition previous to its destruction. The American fleet however, was in an excellent state of efficiency.

The treaty of peace.

Hostilities ceased in August. A treaty of peace was drawn up in Paris by commissioners of the two countries (December, 1898). This was proclaimed in effect April 11, 1899. The treaty provided for the complete independence of Cuba. Porto Rico and the Philippine Archipelago came into the possession of the United States, together with the island of Guam. The United States paid Spain $20,000,000. By this treaty Spain lost the last of her American colonial possessions. The Government justified its policy of acquiring the Philippines on the grounds that Spanish authority in the Islands had been destroyed by the insurgents, assisted by American troops; that for commercial reasons the Philippines should not fall into the hands of any other power; finally, that the Filipinos were incapable of self-government and hence must be ruled by adequate and humane authority.

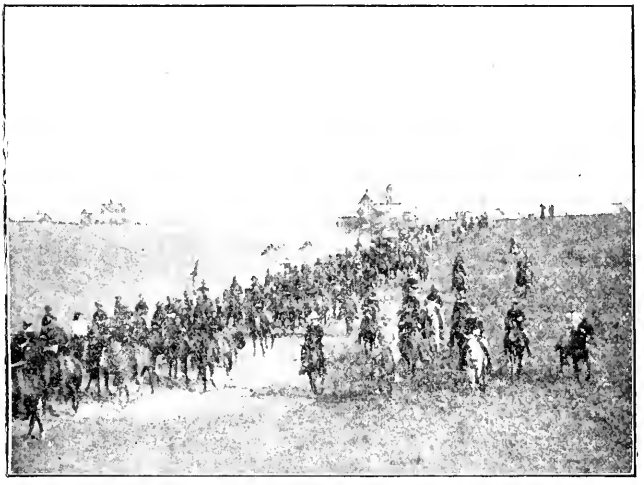
The Spanish war was supported with great popular enthusiasm in the United States. The volunteers greatly exceeded the ability of the Government to use them. The effect was a remarkable unification of sentiment throughout the country. Especially were old antagonisms between North and South forgotten, when such Confederates as Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler entered the military service of their country.

The Philippine revolt.

The leader of the Filipino insurgents was Aguinaldo, who had been expelled from the Islands, but had returned soon after the battle of Manila. He commanded native forces which besieged Manila before its capture by the Americans. He now set up a government and contended for Philippine independence. A war against the American authority ensued, which lasted for about three years, the

Americans gradually bringing different islands under control. In the meantime, civil government was established, in the pacified sections, by the Philippine Commission, headed by Judge William H. Taft. Schools and internal improvements, such as roads, telegraphs, and mail facilities, were promoted. A Philippine Assembly, one-half of which was elected by the natives, met for the

Material improvements and self-government.



The Rough Riders

first time in 1907. Thus these people began the process of self-government.

During the period of American occupation in Cuba, much attention was paid to sanitary improvements, especially in Havana. Throughout the island, and in Porto Rico, prisons, hospitals, and asylums were placed upon a modern basis in equipment and management. Public schools were established. A convention elected by the Cubans framed a constitution for the Cuban Republic and this was adopted in February, 1901. Before it went into effect, the United States Government insisted

The occupation of Cuba and the establishment of the Republic.

upon the incorporation of certain provisions * safe-guarding its interests in Cuba. The Republic was then formally proclaimed (May 20, 1902), with President Palma at its head, and the American troops were withdrawn from the island.

In 1903 the United States entered into a reciprocity treaty with Cuba, admitting her sugar at a reduced tariff rate; while Cuba granted reductions on provisions and machinery from the United States.

The second occupation of Cuba.

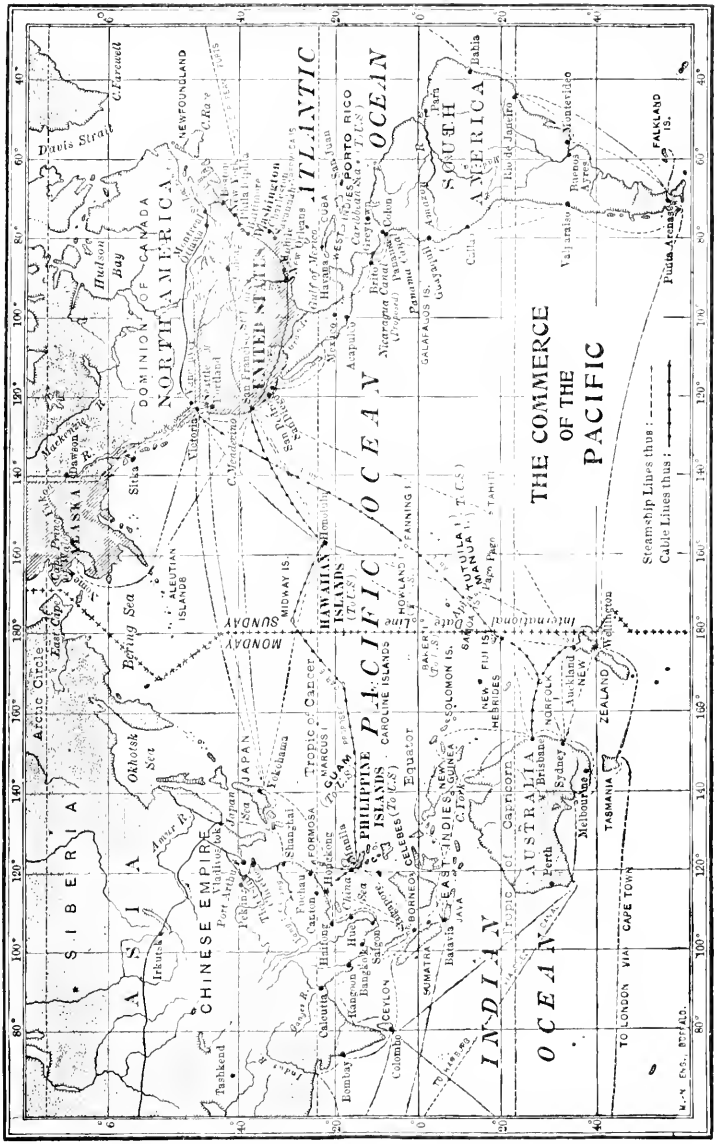
The proneness of the Cubans to engage in factional quarrels, running into violence, was shown after the second election of President Palma and his reinauguration in 1906. Accusations of fraud in the election were made, and Palma resigned. The Cuban Congress failed in its duty of electing his successor, and, there being danger of further disturbance, the United States Government sent troops to Cuba and assumed control. Secretary of War Taft was named as Provincial Governor. In January, 1909, our Government again withdrew its control, a new Cuban administration having been established.

The acquisition of other territory in the Pacific.

In 1889 the United States signed the treaty of Berlin, engaging to coöperate with England and Germany in the maintenance of peace and order in the Samoan Islands. Insurrections against the native rulers continued after this date, however, and President Cleveland recommended the discontinuance of the arrangement. The situation was finally adjusted in 1899 by a treaty under which the Samoan Islands were divided between this country and Germany. Our Government acquired four islands, the largest being Tutuila, with a harbor, Pago Pago, which is one of the best in the Pacific.

In these years other islands of the Pacific, hitherto unclaimed, were occupied by the United States. By the territorial acquisitions mentioned above, and the annexation of Hawaii, the commercial opportunities of the United States in the countries bordering upon the Pacific were distinctly increased.

* See Government in State and Nation, 276.


THE COMMERCE OF THE PACIFIC
Steamship Lines thus :
Cable Lines thus :
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
ASIA
AUSTRALIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
CHINESE EMPIRE
SIBERIA
ALASKA
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
EAST INDIES
CAROLINE ISLANDS
SOLOMON IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
SAMOA
TONGA
TAHITI
PORTO RICO
FALKLAND IS.
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Bering Sea
Okhotsk Sea
Hudson Bay
Davis Strait
Japan Sea
Yellow Sea
China Sea
Caribbean Sea
Gulf of Mexico
Panama Canal
Nicaragua Canal
Suez Canal
Cape Horn
Cape Town
Port Arthur
Vladivostok
Yokohama
Shanghai
Hongkong
Manila
Calcutta
Bombay
Colombo
Singapore
Batavia
Perth
Melbourne
Sydney
Brisbane
Auckland
Wellington
Honolulu
Victoria
Seattle
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Mexico
Acapulco
Havana
Colon
Panama
Callao
Valparaiso
Buenos Ayres
Montevideo
Rio de Janeiro
Bahia
Pernambuco
Punta Arenas
Sitka
Dawson
Tashkend
Irkutsk
Amur R.
Ganges R.
Indus R.
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
MONDAY
SUNDAY
MIDWAY IS.
HOWLAND
FANNING I.
BAKER
GUAM
MARCUS I.
FORMOSA
CELEBES
BORNEO
SUMATRA
JAVA
CEYLON
NEW GUINEA
NORFOLK
TO LONDON VIA CAPE TOWN

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Books dealing with the Spanish war. Draper, The Rescue of Cuba. Roosevelt, The Rough Riders. (See also articles in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XXV.) Kennan, Campaigning in Cuba.

2. Special references. Latané, America as a World Power, 6–19. Elson, History of the United States, 889–902; Sidelights on American History, II, 352–401.

3. Hart, Contemporaries, IV. Reasons for the Spanish War, No. 180. Dewey's report on the battle of Manila Bay, No. 182. Arguments against holding the Philippines, No. 191.

4. Larned, History for Ready Reference, Cuba, 1897. The Constitution granted by Spain to Cuba, 1897–1898. Consul-General Lee's report on the "reconcentrados." *Ibid.* The United States, 1898. Extract from the Report of the Court of Inquiry on the *Maine*. McKinley's message to Congress of April 11.

5. In Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XXIV, are a number of illustrated articles descriptive of the Spanish war, by various authors. See also, Century Magazine, New Series, Vols. XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI.

6. Compare the Cubans in their struggle against Spain with the English colonists in the Revolutionary War. Compare the latter with Aguinaldo's supporters in the Philippines.

7. What are now the policies of the great political parties on the subject of Philippine independence? Which is right?

8. On the Philippine and Cuban relations, see Government in State and Nation, pp. 321–324. On the power to acquire and govern territory, *ibid.*, 325–327. References, *ibid.*, 335.

9. James and Mann, Readings on American History, chap. 30.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE OPENING OF A NEW ERA

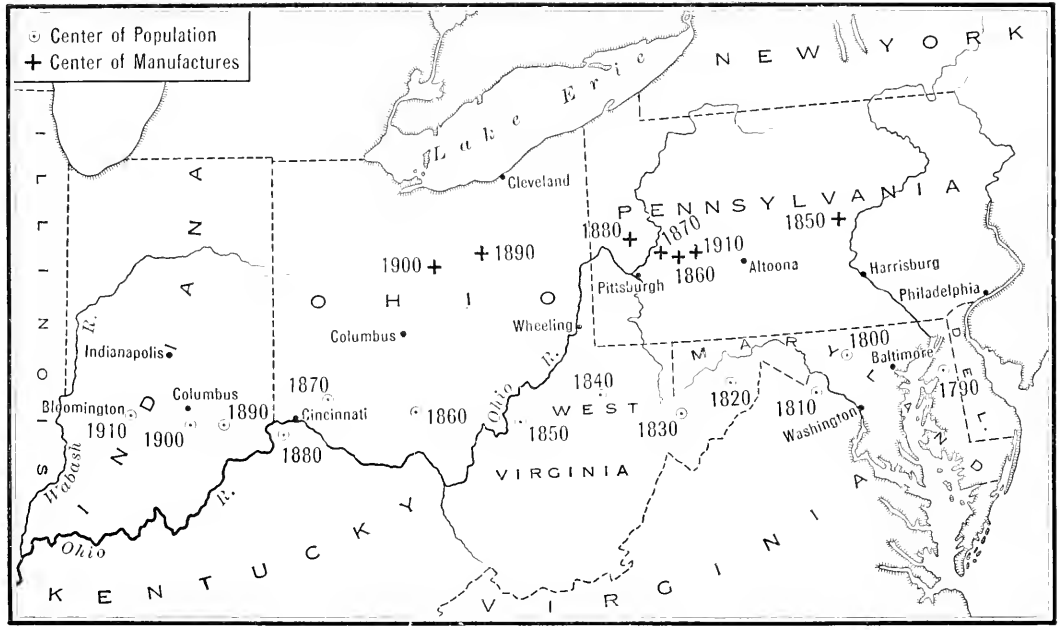
The election of 1900.

THE period of industrial depression that began with the panic of 1893 was followed by one of the most remarkable eras of prosperity that our country has known. This fact, and the popularity of the McKinley administration, due in part to the success of the Spanish war, made the election of 1900 an easy victory for the Republicans. William McKinley was again their candidate. Theodore Roosevelt, who was candidate for the Vice-Presidency,* had aroused popular admiration by his part in the Spanish war and deserved great credit for his work as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in putting that branch of the service into a state of efficiency. The Republicans stood squarely upon the gold standard policy, while the Democrats repeated their free silver plank of 1896; this was demanded by William Jennings Bryan as a condition of his acceptance of the nomination for President.

It was apparent, however, that the silver issue was disappearing; for rich gold deposits had been discovered in the Klondike region of Canada and Alaska (1896–1897), and the influx of this metal resulted in an increased supply of money.† Better prices and activity in all industries

* Roosevelt had been elected Governor of New York. His nomination for the Vice-Presidency was insisted upon by "machine" politicians of that State who feared his influence and desired his removal to a station where he would have little power.

† The amount of money in circulation rose from $22.82 per capita in 1890 to $23.24 in 1895 and $26.93 in 1900.



508 Movement of Centers of Population and Manufactures, 1790–1910

followed with the return of business confidence. In view of this fact, the Democrats announced that "imperialism" —*i. e.*, the acquisition and permanent control of the Philippines—was the paramount issue. They demanded the independence of our new possessions. The appeal to this issue failed to arouse enthusiasm, as both parties were divided upon it within their own ranks. The popular vote in this election was: Republicans, 7,206,000; Democrats, 6,334,000.

From a photograph, copyright by Harris & Ewing

Theodore Roosevelt

The death of President McKinley

Six months after his second inauguration, President McKinley was shot (September 6, 1901) by an anarchist, Czolgosz. This occurred at Buffalo, while the President was holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition, then in progress. His death occurred a few days later.

McKinley had endeared himself to the people by personal qualities of graciousness and tact, and by his blameless private life. He was an astute politician, who won the respect of his opponents. His political fortunes had been under the guidance of Mark Hanna, a wealthy manufacturer of Cleveland, who brought "business methods" into the management of political campaigns.

Roosevelt's popularity. Mr. Roosevelt soon displayed an aggressive individuality which placed him among the few remarkable men who have occupied the Presidency. His acts aroused sharp criticism. But he won popular adherence, such as few men in our history have been accorded, by his vigorous foreign policy, his efforts in the direction of official purity, his opposition to oppressive capitalistic combinations, and especially by his striking personality.

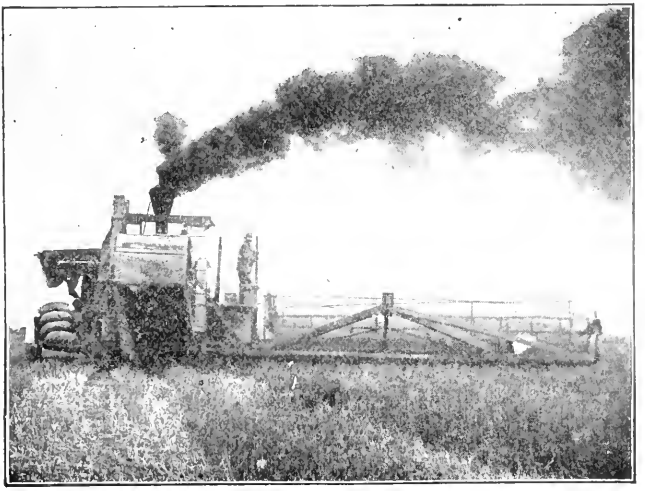
The election of 1904. To Roosevelt's popularity as the Republican candidate for President was largely due the overwhelming victory of that party in the election of 1904. The continuance of industrial prosperity had removed the silver issue completely, and the Democrats did not mention it in their platform. The conservative Eastern wing of that party was now dominant, and Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, became their candidate. On the question of imperialism there was slight difference between the parties. The country at large had accepted the colonial policy as inevitable for at least a considerable period of time; but both parties spoke for the ultimate independence of the Philippines. Both parties spoke also for revision of the tariff, the Democrats taking the more radical position. The Republicans classed combinations of capital and labor together as subject to legal restraint when they became dangerous to private rights. The Democrats were especially emphatic against the trusts. In the election the Democrats carried only the Southern states. Their popular vote was 5,077,000; the Republican candidates receiving 7,623,000.*

The Spanish war marks an epoch in the foreign relations of the United States; then began its increasing activity in international affairs and its recognition as a "world power."

* The Social Democratic, or Socialist, party (1898) grew rapidly after the Populists declined, in the era of great industrial combinations. Its vote in 1900 was 87,000; in 1904, 402,000; and in 1908, 420,000. It had, in 1907, 1900 local organizations with 35,000 members and 30 periodicals. The Socialists believe in "the collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually failed." This includes railroads, telegraphs, steamboat lines, mines, quarries, oil wells, forests, water powers, and all land.

Our country had not previously been without influence in foreign affairs, and its attitude had already begun to be aggressive in purely American relations (p. 470). But the brilliant achievements of our navy in the war with Spain and the recent impressive growth of our industries (see p. 517) served to call attention to our position as a

Our new foreign policy.



Machine which Reaps, Threshes, and Bags Grain at the Same Time

nation of great power in world politics. This power was exerted first in the Orient, following logically upon the acquisition of the Philippines. This acquisition had been made chiefly in view of the industrial situation in China.

Our manufacturers had there a great market for their cotton goods, which they were desirous of extending. At this time strife arose among European nations for trade advantages in China. England, France, Russia, Germany, and Italy were demanding for their citizens concessions, leases, franchises, and special trade privileges in various parts of that country. Gradually, "spheres of influence" covering certain regions were acquired, and it seemed probable that China would be partitioned

The contest in China.

among the European powers, as Africa had been in the previous decade. This would be a blow to our export trade. Now, the acquisition of the Philippines gave us a vantage-point from which we could consistently exert influence in Oriental affairs.

Hay's demand for the "open door."

In September, 1899, Secretary of State John Hay addressed a note to the European powers interested, asking recognition of the policy of the "open door"; *i. e.*, that no power should exclude the citizens of other nations from equal trade rights within its sphere of influence in China. Without winning complete acceptance from all the nations, the justice of this policy was in the main approved.

Influence exerted in Oriental politics.

During the following year came the Boxer Rebellion, in which there were massacres of Europeans and Americans. When the legations of the civilized nations were besieged in Peking, troops of the United States took part in the expedition that marched to their relief. Seizure of Chinese territory as indemnity might have followed, but Secretary Hay brought the influence of this country to bear in securing guarantees of the territorial integrity of China and equal trade rights in its ports.

At the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia, in 1904, the United States secured pledges from those nations that Chinese neutrality would be observed, and that the operations of the war would be confined to Manchuria. In 1905, President Roosevelt appealed directly to the belligerents in favor of a cessation of the war. With great diplomatic skill he brought them to begin negotiations for peace, and his personal influence was exerted in bringing to a successful termination the peace negotiations at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In the Peace Conferences.

The United States sent representatives to the Peace Conference called by the Czar of Russia, which met at The Hague in 1899,* and also to the second Conference in 1907. Upon these occasions our policy favored the widest possible application of the principle of international arbitration. The first dispute to be appealed to the permanent Tribunal

* See Government in State and Nation. 304-307.

of Arbitration was one between the United States and Mexico (1902). More recently treaties have been made between our country and Great Britain, France, and a number of other nations, to submit certain disputes to arbitration by the Hague Tribunal before resorting to force.*

In the above events we see the beginnings of a foreign policy which has been exerted in favor of justice, humanity, and peace in international relations. Great Britain has supported our Government in this policy, and the relations of these nations have become more friendly in consequence. The acquisition of the Philippines and our "open door" policy have been distinctly favorable to England's commercial interests.

The new Monroe Doctrine.

In its relations with other American powers the United States has maintained its leadership. A second Pan-American congress was held in the City of Mexico, in 1901, followed by another at Rio Janeiro (1906). At various times European nations have engaged in controversies with South American states over the payment of debts due the citizens of the former. The question has then arisen, to what extent shall the United States permit the use of force against the debtor nations?

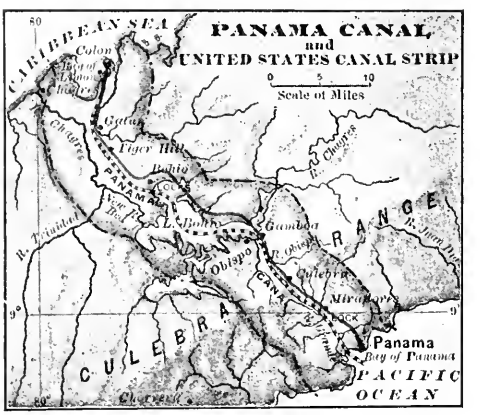
The wider application of the Monroe Doctrine under President Cleveland (p. 486), looking toward the maintenance of the rights of the weaker American nations, has been followed by recognition of our obligation to secure the performance of duties by those nations. Said President Roosevelt (1905): "We cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident, in the first place, that we do not intend to treat it in any shape or way as an excuse for aggrandizement on our part at the expense of the Republics to the south of us; second, that we do not intend to permit it to be used by any of these Republics as a shield to protect that Republic from the consequences

* 'Eighteen years ago international arbitration was little more than a hope, to-day it is an accepted policy; and since this country has already made twelve specific special agreements for arbitration, there is every ground to believe that as time passes the Senate will view this policy more and more broadly." The Nation, 86:390.

of its own misdeeds against foreign nations; third, that inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister Republics, which need such help, upward toward peace and order."

Early Isthmian Canal projects.

The history of the Panama Canal exemplifies the new aggressive policy of this country in its world relations, as well as our expanding industrial interests. In 1850, by the



Panama Canal and United States Canal Strip

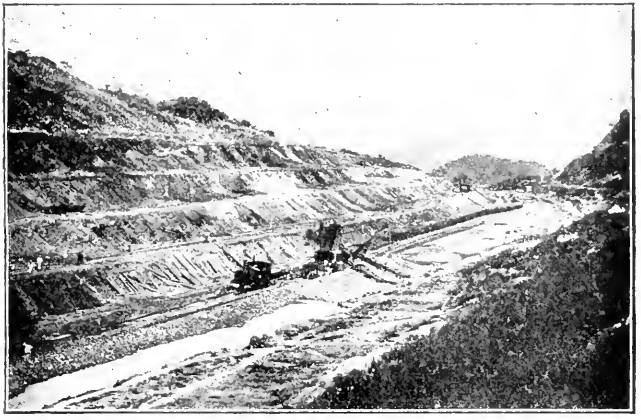
Clayton-Bulwer treaty (p. 335), the United States and England agreed to renounce the right to acquire independent control of any isthmian canal route. As early as the administration of President Hayes this policy was condemned by officers of our Government. When, in the next decade, a French company began the construction of a canal at Panama,* the demand for a canal under the control of this country became urgent. Efforts to bring about the formal abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty were unsuccessful. Several surveys were authorized, however, especially with a view to establishing a route through

* Projected by Ferdinand De Lesseps, who constructed the Suez Canal.

Nicaragua. Then occurred the Spanish war, during which the warship *Oregon* was obliged to make its long journey from San Francisco around Cape Horn in order to join the Atlantic Squadron. This incident attracted attention to the difficulty of defending the two coasts of our country, and the demand for a canal became irresistible.

The demand for a canal.

In 1899, the Isthmian Canal Commission was appointed to examine routes, and they recommended that through



At Work on the Panama Canal in the Culebra Cut

Nicaragua. In the meantime, an American company had acquired the property of the French Panama Canal Company, whose undertaking had ended some ten years earlier in bankruptcy. This property was now offered for sale to the United States. Secretary Hay, after much diplomatic delay, and the rejection of one treaty, finally secured the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty (1901). The United States was now free to proceed to construct and own an Isthmian canal which should be free to the use of all nations, both in peace and in war. As this country alone was to guarantee the neutral use and the defence of the canal, it is practically unrestricted in its control.

Obstacles removed.

Congress now passed the Spooner Act (1902), providing for the construction of the Panama Canal on the condition that favorable terms could be secured from the canal company and from Colombia, through whose territory it was to run; otherwise, the Nicaragua route was to be used.

Negotiations with Colombia and the Panama revolution.

A treaty was next made with Colombia, providing for a $10,000,000 payment and an annuity of $250,000 in consideration for the control by the United States of a six-mile strip across the Isthmus. This treaty was rejected by the Colombian Congress, evidently as a means of obtaining better terms. This occasioned a revolution among the disappointed inhabitants of the province of Panama; they declared themselves independent of Colombia, and set up a government. Their independence was recognized by President Roosevelt three days later.* Within two weeks a treaty was made with the new Republic of Panama, by which our Government secured control in perpetuity of a ten-mile strip across the Isthmus. The Panama Canal property was purchased for $40,000,000. The estimated cost for the completion of the work being $144,000,000 additional, Congress appropriated $10,000,000 at once and authorized the issuance of $130,000,000 in bonds. A Canal Commission was appointed, and the work of putting the Canal Zone into sanitary condition and of digging the canal proceeded at once.

A period of great industrial expansion.

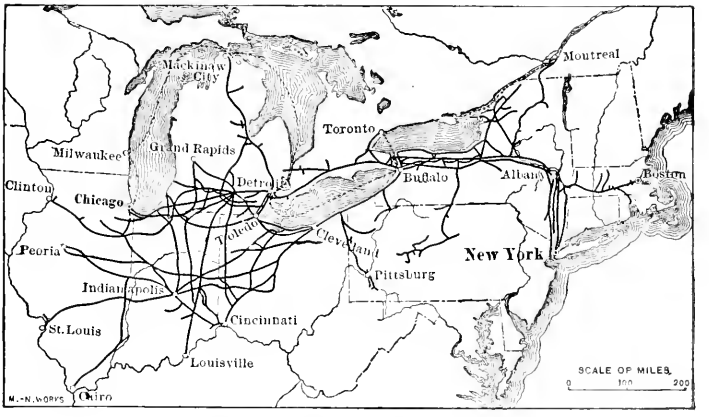
The reign of prosperity already referred to (p. 507) affected all branches of industry. Farmers received better prices for their crops, manufacturers turned out an in-

* Severe criticism was launched against the administration for this hasty recognition and for the sending of United States troops to prevent the use of force by Colombia in the vicinity of the canal. Roosevelt based his action upon a treaty of 1846 between the United States and Colombia (then New Granada) by which the former was to guarantee the freedom of the canal route from hostile demonstrations that would prevent its free use. He justified it further upon the ground that Colombia's attitude was mercenary, and that the interests of the civilized world demanded the immediate construction of the Panama Canal by the United States.

creased product, laborers were paid better wages and thus furnished demand for still more products of all kinds. With this demand, prices rose and the cost of living increased greatly. A most striking evidence of our industrial growth was found in the exportation of our manufactures to European countries, whose markets were thus invaded. The United States then took rank as the greatest exporting nation of the world.

Besides the wealth of our natural resources and the energy of our people, the remarkable capacity of the American people for business organization accounts for

Further concentration of industry.



The Vanderbilt Railroad System

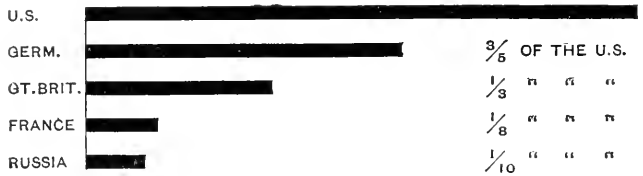
this result. The principle of concentration in industry (see p. 472) was now carried to its greatest extent. Every effort was made to economize in production by eliminating waste and unnecessary duplication at all points. Beginning in 1898, there seemed to be a mania for the formation of trusts and combinations. Indeed, this tendency went to extremes, and the stocks of many fraudulent "syndicates" were sold to the public.

The greatest combination formed was the United States Steel Corporation, with a capitalization of $1,400,000,000, unifying the interests of eight corporations owning 149 plants and producing three-fourths of the steel product of the country. The same tendency was seen in the consolidation of all the important railroad lines in the country into a few great "systems."

These combinations indicated not only concentration of ownership, but, more especially, concentration of *control*. For while the great corporations had thousands of stockholders, yet their control rested in the hands of a comparatively few men (such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan, Rogers, Gould, Vanderbilt, Hill, and Harriman), who thus possessed immense influence over the business interests of the country.*

State and National prosecution of trusts and railroads.

The progress of capitalistic combinations was met by greater efforts to prevent trusts and by the passage of laws in various States controlling railroads more strictly and fixing their rates. Under President Roosevelt, especially, the Government actively prosecuted violators of Federal



Steel Productions, 1903

laws upon these subjects and secured favorable decisions in some important cases, notably those of the Northern Securities Company † and the beef trust. There were numerous convictions under the anti-rebate law, the most important being that under which fines aggregating $29,240,000 were imposed upon the Standard Oil Company by a United States District Court presided over by Judge

* It is said that the men composing the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation had (1908) controlling influence in corporations that own one-twelfth of the wealth in the United States. World's Work, VII, 4259.

† A corporation uniting the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Burlington Railroads under one management.

Landis and sitting at Chicago.* In 1906, Congress passed a new Interstate Commerce Law, reorganizing the Commission and giving it the power to fix rates, though the railroads retain the right of appeal to the courts. Pipe lines, sleeping-car companies, and express companies were made subject to the provisions of this law. Railroad companies were forbidden to engage in any other business.

The progress of labor organizations.

Labor now made its greatest progress in the direction of organization. The American Federation of Labor (see p. 453) acquired a membership in 1905 of 2,000,000. Its policy was soon directed toward securing favorable labor legislation by exerting political influence for the defeat of candidates who opposed their demands. A department of Commerce and Labor was established by Congress in 1903.†

The coal strike of 1902.

The United Mine Workers, including 147,000 men working in the anthracite coal-fields, struck, in 1902, for higher wages and better conditions. The mine-owners ‡ refused to arbitrate the question in dispute. A coal famine seemed inevitable. President Roosevelt voiced the demands of public sentiment, which was becoming outraged at the prospect, and the operators finally agreed to submit the controversy to settlement by a commission appointed by him. The decision was a victory for the miners.

Immigration.

Another aspect of the country's labor problem is seen in the increase and changed character of immigration. In 1903, Congress increased the head-tax upon immigrants, and enacted stricter regulations excluding undesirable classes, especially anarchists. Later, ability to read and write was required of immigrants who wished to become naturalized, and the process of making citizens was more carefully regulated.

* The judgment in this case was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals.

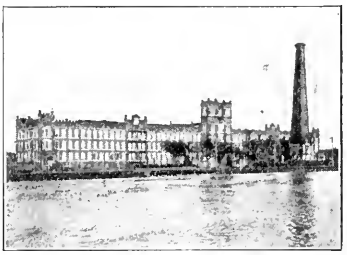
† Government in State and Nation, 256–258.

‡ Some six railroad companies own the greater part of the anthracite coal deposit and control the price absolutely. The President of the United Mine Workers was John Mitchell, "the ablest labor leader America had produced." Equally able and influential was Samuel Gompers, president for twenty years of the American Federation of Labor.

In 1905 and succeeding years the number of immigrants became more than one million annually. Of these nearly three-fourths came from southern and eastern Europe. The country is thus confronted by a great problem in the proper distribution and complete assimilation of these peoples.

Industrial awakening in the South.

The industrial advance of the South was a striking feature of the period under review. The vast mineral, coal, and forest resources of the Southern States, and its water power, were now exploited as never before. Manufactures increased fifty per cent. between 1900 and 1906. In cotton manufacture, especially, the advance was rapid, the South converting one-third of its crop into finished products. The entire Piedmont region, from Virginia to Georgia, was rapidly becoming a manufacturing section. There began, too, the more complete occupation of the soil, and more intelligent farming, the raising of garden produce and fruits receiving particular attention. The South also entered upon a period of educational improvement.



A Cotton Mill, Augusta, Ga.

The negro population.

The negro felt the effects of the changes noted above. The industrial relations of blacks and whites were improved by the influence of industrial schools for negroes. Chief among these is Tuskegee Institute (Alabama), under the principalship of Booker T. Washington, the acknowledged leader of the negro race. The social relations between whites and negroes were frequently disturbed by "race riots," some of which occurred in Northern States. Politically, the negro continued to be debarred from voting and office-holding. Beginning in 1890, most of the Southern States adopted constitutions requiring educa-

tional and property qualifications for suffrage.* Thus the observance of legal forms took the place of the violence of former times (see pp. 432–433).

The Far West.

In the Far West, this period witnessed the rapid growth of cities and substantial industrial advance. The cattle ranch was supplemented by intensive agriculture and fruit raising. This was encouraged by the irrigation of arid lands. Besides private and State irrigation systems, Congress provided for the construction of reservoirs and ditches with the proceeds from the sale of public lands.†

Oklahoma, 1907.

Congress authorized the formation of two new States in the West, by the union of New Mexico and Arizona, and of Indian Territory and Oklahoma. The inhabitants of the latter territories agreed to this plan, and the State of Oklahoma was admitted in 1907.

Reform in industrial methods.

Accompanying our great industrial advance, the public conscience has been awakened to demand remedies for abuses that are possible under our present industrial system. Laws have been enacted in many States limiting the age and conditions of child labor; and a demand has been raised for Congressional action upon this subject. Legislation prohibiting food adulteration and the false labelling of packages, and providing for the inspection of factories and packing-houses, has been general. In 1905 there was an investigation by the State of New York of the methods used by the great life insurance companies. This resulted in revelations of loose and pernicious business methods (not, however, confined to this class of companies), formerly winked at, but now condemned by public opinion. In this period, then, we have seen the beginnings of a higher standard of business morality.

Political reform measures.

In political matters, as well, public standards have been rising. About 1890 the use of the Australian ballot system became general, and thus the purchase of votes became more difficult. But this reform did not eliminate the evils

* See Government in State and Nation, 122.

† See Government in State and Nation, 284.

of machine politics. State laws were extended to the control of party affairs, with severer punishments for corrupt practices, the control of lobbying, and the requirement of publicity for campaign expenses. In a few States the primary election system was put into operation. Public officers won popular approval, in numerous States and cities, by their activity in revealing "graft" and by their fearless enforcement of the law. Municipal government improved greatly in this period.

Business and politics.

These reforms were made possible by the increase of independent voting in State and city politics. Politicians must now reckon, as never before, with the demand of the average citizen for honesty in public service. The influence of corporations in governmental affairs has received a check, and there is a growing demand for the more complete control of public utilities, and for the public ownership of them in cities. The prominence of the moral element in the business and political reforms mentioned above characterizes this as an era of "awakened civic conscience." Both moral and economic considerations may be seen in the protest against the excessive use of liquors that has resulted in the prohibition of liquor selling in a number of States and parts of States, especially in the South.

Educational movements.

Educationally, the past decade has seen increased attention paid to the industrial and practical aspects of school work. Courses in manual training and domestic science are now believed to be necessary for the complete development of mind and body. Commercial courses and trade schools fit for definite careers. Physical education receives greater attention. And the mass of people now seek outdoor life and recreation as never before in our history. The establishment of public libraries, aided by the munificent gifts of Andrew Carnegie, has been rapid. The rural free delivery system and the increased use of telephones and interurban car lines have revolutionized farm life and have added greatly to the comfort and intelligence of the masses.

The great naval cruise.

In December, 1907, the Atlantic fleet of our navy, comprising sixteen war-ships and a flotilla of torpedo-boats, began a cruise around the world. No such array of war-vessels had ever before been sent upon so long a voyage. The conduct of the fleet constituted an excellent test of its efficiency; and the event was considered as significant of America's position in world politics.

The following statistics indicate the growth of manufactures:

	ESTABLISHMENTS	CAPITAL	PERSONS EMPLOYED	VALUE OF PRODUCT
1890	355,000	$6,525,000,000	4,712,000	$9,372,000,000
1900	512,000	9,817,000,000	5,705,000	13,004,000,000
1905	533,000	13,872,000,000	6,723,000	16,866,000,000

	IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURES EXPORTED	TOTAL EXPORTS	PRICES (DUN'S INDEX NUMBERS)
1890	$25,000,000	$884,000,000	91.55
1895	32,000,000	807,000,000	81.52
1900	121,000,000	1,394,000,000	91.41
1905	134,728,000	1,518,000,000	98.31
1907	181,000,000	1,880,000,000	108.95

Our natural resources.

In May, 1908, there met at Washington, upon the request of President Roosevelt, a conference to consider the conservation of our natural resources. It included the governors of the States and other eminent men. This movement was a recognition of the extremely wasteful methods that have been employed in the use of our soil, mines, forests, and water supply. Having now definitely passed beyond the pioneer stage of our history, we must *conserve* our natural resources; our industries must be developed *intensively*, rather than extensively. Included in this movement is the proposal to improve our water-ways, as an undeveloped resource, and as a means of competition with railroads. A ship route between Lake Michigan and the Gulf of Mexico is especially favored.

Anticipating the Presidential election of 1908, there

The election of 1908.

was a strong popular demand that President Roosevelt be nominated for a third term. This he most emphatically declined, but instead exerted influence which resulted in the nomination of his Secretary of War, William H. Taft, by the Republican convention at Chicago. Roosevelt and Taft represented an element of their party which demanded "progressive" or "reform" legislation; the other wing of the Republicans (known as "standpatters") were represented upon the ticket by James S. Sherman of New York, candidate for Vice-President.

William H. Taft

Party nominations.

The main portion of the Democratic party rallied to the support of Bryan, who had retained remarkable popularity, especially in the West. He had profited by the defeat of his party in 1904, when it was under the dominance of its Eastern conservative wing. Bryan was nominated on the first ballot of the Democratic convention at Denver, and John W. Kern of Indiana was made candidate for Vice-President.

The platforms.

The Democratic platform was more radical than the Republican in its demand for tariff revision and in its concession to the demand of labor unions for anti-injunction legislation.* It demanded the publicity of campaign expenses † in National elections, an income tax, and the Government guaranty of deposits in National banks. Both parties favored emergency currency, but differed slightly as to the method of its issuance.

* See Government in State and Nation, 95, 96.

† Both candidates for the Presidency were emphatic in advocating this policy.

In the fall of 1907 a financial stringency had occurred in New York City, and all the business centers of the country were soon affected. A decided check to business followed. This "panic" was attributed to the fact that the supply of money could not be expanded quickly in response to the demands of trade. Congress passed a law (1908) providing for the issuance, by National banks, of *emergency currency;* this was subject to a tax which would cause its withdrawal when the supply of money was adequate. Emergency currency.

The election of 1908 was a Republican victory, Taft securing 321 Electoral votes, while Bryan had 162.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Andrews, The United States in Our Time, treats the following topics: The Pan-American and St. Louis Expositions, 885–895; McKinley's death and character, 897–904, 907–910; The Boxer Rebellion, 905–907; The formation of the United States Steel Corporation, 918–921; The anthracite miners' Strike, 924–926.

2. An estimate of Mr. Hay's diplomacy is found in The Outlook, 73: 271–272.

3. Does the foreign policy of this country include the making of treaties of alliance with other nations? Has this ever been done?

4. What are the present political relations of the United States with Japan? with England?

5. Why was the voyage of the American fleet an event of international importance?

6. Do you approve of the policy of enlarging the navy? What are some arguments for and against that policy?

7. Make a list of the unsettled problems referred to in this chapter. Classify them as National, State, or local. Whose duty is it to find solutions for these problems? Point to facts in our history that will aid in solving any of them.

8. The industrial advance of the South, World's Work, 9: 5488–5498. Also, several articles in volume xiv (June, 1907), Review of Reviews, 33: 177–190.

9. The Hague tribunal, World's Work, 9: 5928–5932.

10. What is the positive side of the Monroe Doctrine? Independent, 55: 9–11.

11. The most prosperous period of our history. Review of Reviews, 34: 677–686.

12. Methods of regulating immigration. Review of Reviews, 33: 336–339.

13. Conditions of child labor. Independent, 55: 375–379. Outlook, 73: 637–641; 921–927.

14. The number an value of Carnegie libraries. World's Work, 9: 6092–6097.

15. The prohibition wave in the South. Review of Reviews 36: 328–334.

16. Negotiations with Colombia and the Panama Republic, Latané, America as a World Power, 208–221.

17. The Panama Canal. Independent, 55: 764–770. Review of Reviews, 35: 66–73.

18. Additional references upon the above and other important current topics may be found in great abundance in weekly and monthly periodicals.

19. What do you believe to be the essential difference between the Republican and Democratic parties at the present time? What other political parties had candidates in the last Presidential election? What did each stand for, and how many votes were cast for each? Platforms and election statistics may be found in newspaper almanacs.

20. Further readings in James and Mann. Readings in American History, chap. 31.

CHAPTER XXXII

RECENT EVENTS—1908–1915

In the last chapter it was said that the ten years following the Spanish-American War constituted "the opening of a new era." The events of the years from 1908 to 1915 continued to justify this characterization. Few periods in American history have seen more significant National movements. The decade 1898–1908 had been a time of great material prosperity, and this condition, in the main, continued.

The value of manufactures rose from $16,000,000,000 in 1905 to $20,000,000,000 in 1910; our exports were $1,800,000,000 in 1908, and $2,400,000,000 in 1913. The exports of iron and steel were valued at $183,000,000 in 1908, at $304,000,000 in 1913, and $251,000,000 in 1914. (Compare these figures with those on p. 523.) In agriculture, also, the time was one of unexcelled prosperity, the production of standard crops reaching unprecedented figures.

But there is a darker side to the picture. For many years before this era of material prosperity, there had appeared in our social, industrial, and political systems certain evils and abuses against which some leaders of public opinion cried out loudly (see p. 478). These so-called "prophets" had been ridiculed, and the evils had continued to grow. Some reforms had, indeed, been begun (see pp. 521–522); *but there were radicals and conservatives in both of the great political parties. The lines between the political parties were not sharply drawn.** We see in this era the culmination of these great problems and the for-

* Compare this situation with that existing when some persons in both the Whig and Democratic parties were trying to fight slavery (pp. 323, 334); when the tariff was the leading issue between parties (p. 467); and when the question of free silver was before the country (pp. 479–480).

mation of a clearer division between the groups in each party that were to struggle for mastery.

One unhappy aspect of our industrial situation was seen in the continued rise in the cost of living.*

Wage-earners did not get their due share of the increased production, for wages did not advance as rapidly as the prices of the articles they consumed. The great influx of immigrants continued (see p. 520); this and the employment of women and children in factories filled the labor market with workers. When, therefore, a slackening of industry came, in 1913–1915, the problem of the *unemployed* loomed larger than it had before for twenty years.

This period is notable for the number of strikes, and the fierceness of these contests. Those occurring at Lawrence, Mass. (1912), and Paterson, N. J. (1913), and in the Colorado mining-camps (1913), were especially hard fought. Prominent in these strikes were the Industrial Workers of the World, who believe that labor and capital have nothing in common, and that the contest between them must continue until the laborers own all the means of production.

Many of these bad social and industrial conditions were of such a nature that only the States could deal with them. So in several States laws were passed making it possible for workmen who were injured to obtain compensation from their employers without bringing suit in a court; many industrial concerns introduced pension systems for their employees; a minimum-wage system was established in a few States; in others there was provision for a mothers' pension that would help widows to

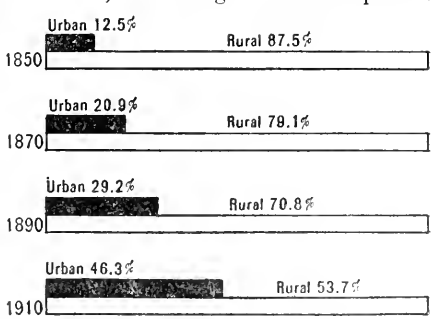
* Bradstreet's index numbers showing prices are as follows:

1908....8.00	1910....8.98	1912....9.18	1914....8.89
1909....8.51	1911....8.71	1913....9.20	

Compare these figures with those on p. 523.

support their families. Something was also accomplished in the direction of limiting the hours of labor for women and children, and improving factory conditions with respect to safety and hygienic appliances.

Such were some of the measures enacted as a means of curtailing the waste of human life that exists under our industrial system when unchecked by humanitarian regulations. The fact of this waste was becoming a clear conviction in the minds of the people at the same time that they awoke to that other source of incalculable loss —the destruction of our natural resources (see p. 523). The most tangible evidence of this loss is seen in the disappearance of forests and the consequent rise in the price of lumber. Such terrible floods as those that occur in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers emphasize another result of deforestation and lack of river control. The rapid disappearance of the public domain that is suitable for tillage shows the necessity of guarding more closely the public lands that contain deposits of coal, oil, and other mineral products. We see, too, the increasing value of water-power sites, following the development of electrical long-distance transmission.



Increase of Urban Population

Another great problem that was outlined more clearly at this time than ever before was that of monopoly control. With the rising cost of living; with the concentration of capital in large industries; with the concentration of people in cities,* where

* The accompanying graph shows this tendency. (From Sanford's American History Maps. A. J. Nystrom and Co., Chicago.)

they are often dependent upon private corporations for their supply of water, lights, and transportation; with the threatened disappearance of our natural resources—people began to ask, who is getting the benefit of all this? and why are living conditions for the masses becoming harder instead of easier? The period now under review revealed more clearly than had been seen previously the contrast between the rapid accumulation of wealth in the country as a whole and the unsatisfactory conditions that caused a rising tide of discontent.*

Certain events of President Taft's administration (1909–1913) brought important questions to an issue.

William Howard Taft's long experience in public positions is shown by the following record: Solicitor-General of the United States, 1890–1892; Federal Circuit Judge, 1892–1900; President of the Philippine Commission, 1900–1901; first Civil Governor of the Philippines, 1901–1904; Secretary of War, 1904–1908.

In the campaign of 1908, the Republican platform called for a revision of the Dingley tariff of 1897 (see p. 494), and it was understood that this was to be a downward revision. In a special session of Congress (1909) the Payne-Aldrich law was passed, which included some reductions, but also some increases that seemed to favor influential interests. A customs court was established to decide disputes over valuations; a tax of 1 per cent. was imposed upon the net incomes of corporations; and a tariff board was created to investigate and to gather data for use in future tariff legislation. Great indignation was felt by many against the Payne-Aldrich law, especially in the West, whose opposition to a high tariff had been growing for some years. It was claimed that the law violated Republican platform pledges. When

* One authority (Beard, Contemporary American History) speaks of this as "the revival of dissent," referring to the Populist movement, many of whose proposals were now renewed and enacted into law

President Taft, in a speech at Winona, Minn., defended the law, saying that it was "the best customs law ever passed," the opposition became intensified. Here was the beginning of a serious breach in the Republican ranks.

Matters were not improved when, in 1911, Mr. Taft made an agreement with the Canadian Government for reciprocity between the two countries. This would allow free trade in many products, especially food-stuffs, and considerable reductions in duties on manufactures. Westerners felt that the farmers' interests would not be favored by this arrangement. Congress adopted the plan, but an election in Canada went against the party that favored it, so it failed there.

Much bitterness of feeling was also aroused during this administration over the matter of conservation. President Roosevelt had been very active in withdrawing public lands from the privilege of entry by persons wishing to acquire them, when he believed they contained deposits of minerals or valuable water-power sites. He may have exceeded his authority in this respect, through the absence of laws that should have existed to protect public interests.

A great evil had long existed, under which the Government (or, rather, the people of the United States) had been robbed of immense wealth. In some cases where the law allowed an individual to acquire only 160 acres of land, capitalists had "dummy" claimants make adjacent entries in large numbers; thus vast tracts of timber, grazing, or mineral lands and water-power sites had come into possession of men of wealth and of corporations. Governmental officials had been known to connive at these frauds.

When some capitalists (known as the Cunningham group) planned to acquire coal lands in Alaska,* their application seemed likely to have the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, R. A. Ballinger. Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Forestry Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, made a vigorous protest, and the entire matter was

* The Government price of the land was $10 an acre, but the property was really worth millions of dollars.

opened for public discussion. Pinchot, who was a close friend of Roosevelt, was dismissed from office, and President Taft vigorously defended Ballinger when the latter resigned in 1911. As a result of investigations, the Cunningham claims and many others were later disallowed. In 1910 Congress authorized the President to withdraw public lands from entry, and provided that mineral deposits might be reserved by the Government when lands were acquired for agricultural purposes.

Under President Taft the prosecution of trusts was more vigorous than it had ever been before. In 1911 the Supreme Court decided that the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company were organized in violation of law, and both were ordered dissolved into their constituent members.

For two reasons not much satisfaction came from these legal victories. First, the public secured no relief in the matter of prices. Second, the court held that combinations were illegal only when they exercised an *unreasonable* restraint upon trade, or when their direct and necessary effect was to stifle competition. Since Congress had previously refused to enact into law the provision that only unreasonable combinations were to be forbidden, it was felt by many persons that the court had usurped a power that was granted by the Constitution to Congress alone —in a word, that it was making or amending a law.

During these years a growing breach was becoming apparent between those who stood for decided tariff reduction, a strong conservation policy, and stronger control of trusts, on the one hand, and on the other a conservative group, including many who represented the moneyed interests, and who feared that radical policies would "hurt business." This controversy showed itself plainly in the fight of a group of Republican "insurgents"*

* Prominent among them were Senators La Follette (Wis.), Cummins and Dolliver (Ia.), Beveridge (Ind.), Bristow (Kan.), and Clapp (Minn.); also Representatives Murdock (Kan.), Norris (Neb.), Cooper (Wis.), and Fowler (N. J.). For an account of the new House rules, see Government in State and Nation, 154–157.

in the House of Representatives against the arbitrary power that had gradually come to be exercised by the Speaker. In 1910 the insurgents rebelled against Speaker Joseph G. Cannon ("Uncle Joe") and united with the Democrats in amending the rules of the House. The Speaker's power of recognition was curtailed; the power of appointing committees was taken from him, and committees are now elected; the most powerful committee, that on Rules, is no longer appointed by the Speaker, and he is not a member of it.

Progress toward greater control of common carriers was made by the Interstate Commerce Act of 1910. Express and sleeping-car companies were brought under the same control as railroads; a Commerce Court was established to hear appeals from the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission (but this court was discontinued in 1913), and the Commission was authorized to suspend for ten months rate increases proposed by the railroads, pending investigation.

Two other important bills were enacted: the postal savings bank law (1910), that had been opposed by certain banking interests, and the parcels post law (1912), that had been urged for many years by postmasters-general, but had been successfully fought by express-company lobbies.

The elections of 1910 were an index of discontent with the Republican administration. The Democrats secured a majority in the House of Representatives. With the aid of the insurgent Republican Senators, they sometimes controlled the Senate. The attack on the tariff was carried out by the passage of several bills amending particular schedules: for instance, one bill placed agricultural implements, meat, flour, etc., on the free list, others lowered rates on wool and woollens, cotton manufactures, and metals. When passed by both houses, these bills were vetoed by President Taft, partly on the ground that Congress should await information that was being gathered by the expert tariff board referred to above.

For many years previous to the time now under dis-

cussion, there had been strong movements in various States aimed at securing greater control of railroads, public utilities,* and trusts, with the purpose of securing greater freedom for small industries and lower rates and prices. The same forces had contended for such social legislation as that referred to on p. 456, for the improvement of the living conditions, safety, and health of wage-earners.† Everywhere it was felt that capitalistic interests were opposed to these new measures. "Big business" everywhere, it was claimed, was exerting its influence to keep matters as they were, or to gain more "special privileges" through the action of city, State, and National governments. Corrupt means, it was charged, were sometimes used to bring about these results. With almost unlimited financial resources, "the interests" often endeavored to block "progressive" measures.

In our political machinery, either house of a legislative body may check the other; the executive (Mayor, Governor, or President) may by his veto check the legislature; finally, the courts, even when most removed from corrupt influences, have been found to favor old interpretations of the law, and to disregard the new social conditions in the light of which old laws should be interpreted.‡ Furthermore, our system of political parties makes possible the boss and the machine, through whom private, rather than public, interests may be promoted.

Because of these conditions, there had arisen a strong demand for *more direct control of the Government by the people*. This demand was embodied in primary election laws that had been enacted in all but a few States before this time, and in stricter corrupt practices acts for the

* The term public utilities includes such businesses as those furnishing street-car facilities, water, light, heat, and power.

† In 1912 a children's bureau was created in the Department of Commerce and Labor, and in 1913 a separate Department of Labor, whose Secretary is a member of the President's Cabinet, was created.

‡ Thus courts declared *illegal* laws restricting the hours of women's labor, and laws providing for workmen's compensation.

control of elections.* The reform was now pushed a step farther in the enactment of the initiative, referendum, and recall† in several States. There was also the advocacy of the "short ballot," especially in cities: *i. e.*, the election of fewer officials with the purposes of making the government more simple and of holding officers more strictly responsible to the people. With these ends in view, more than three hundred cities adopted the commission form of government.‡ Accompanying these changes was an increasing recognition of the part that women might play in bringing about good government, especially when social questions are involved; hence the adoption of full woman-suffrage in several States.§ In line with these demands and changes was the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (May 31, 1913), providing for the election of Senators by popular vote, instead of by State legislatures.‖

In opposition to the movement for greater popular control of government was the argument that our system was originally, and should remain, *representative* rather than purely democratic. This means that leaders, rather

* See Government in State and Nation, 48–52. In 1907 corporations were forbidden by Congress to make campaign contributions in elections held under its authority. Many States had made publicity of campaign expenses compulsory, and had limited the amounts that might be expended.

† See Government in State and Nation, 13–14, 37. The question of the recall was made prominent when Arizona and New Mexico were asking admission to the Union. President Taft, who was most positively opposed to the recall of judges, insisted that Arizona should not be admitted with this system in its Constitution. The provision was removed, but it was re-enacted after Arizona became a State.

‡ Government in State and Nation, 22, 36.

§ To the first woman-suffrage States, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, were added Washington and California in 1911, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon in 1912, and Illinois, for a part of its officers, in 1913. Woman-suffrage was rejected by popular votes in a number of other States.

‖ The amendment is printed on p. 573. The case of Senator Lorimer, of Illinois, in which bribery of legislators was proved, was the climax of similar incidents in our history.

than the masses, are most fit to govern and should determine policies; but that, of course, they should be responsible to the people, through frequent elections.

A review of these matters is necessary to an understanding of the issues involved in the election of 1912. The agitation for the popular measures mentioned was the basis of the *progressive movement* that had been gathering force for some years. Among its leaders were such Republicans as Robert M. La Follette, who, as Governor of Wisconsin (1901–1905), had been a pioneer, and Governor Hiram Johnson, of California. The Democratic Governors of Missouri, Joseph M. Folk, and New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, stood for the progressive ideas in their respective States. The *insurgents* previously mentioned were other prominent progressives.

While he was President, Mr. Roosevelt had added to his great personal popularity by denunciation of evils connected with the wrong use of wealth in industry and politics. It was thought that Mr. Taft would pursue like policies (see p. 524); but while his administration shows a good record for some reform measures,* it was felt by many that through his tariff and conservation policies he had allied himself with the conservative or "stand-pat" element of his party. Upon Mr. Roosevelt's return from Africa (in March, 1910), where he had been for a year, the breach between the two men became evident, and widened the breach already existing between the two wings of the party. Mr. Roosevelt now came forward with his announcement of "The New Nationalism" as a policy; this meant the extension of national functions to help in the solution of such social problems as the States seemed unable to cope with, because of the lack of uniformity in their laws, and because they lack authority over interstate business.

In 1911 a Progressive Republican League was formed,

* Mr. Taft's extension of the civil-service merit system should be mentioned with other measures already discussed.

which had for its leader and prospective Presidential candidate Senator La Follette. In February, 1912, a majority of the Progressive leaders shifted their support to Mr. Roosevelt, who, they felt, was less radical and more popular than La Follette. Other Republican candidates

From a photograph, copyright 1915, by Moffett

Woodrow Wilson

for the nomination were President Taft and Senator Cummins.

Mr. Roosevelt announced that he would abide by the decision of *Presidential-preference primaries*. In eleven States (and partly in three others) the voters were permitted to express preferences as to the nominees for their respective parties. The result among Republicans in these States was strongly in favor of Mr.

Roosevelt. In the Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago in June, his managers contested more than 200 seats claimed by Taft delegates, mainly from the Southern States. When, with few exceptions, the Taft contestants were seated, the Roosevelt men denounced the result as "theft," and 343 delegates, in protest, subsequently refrained from voting upon the adoption of the platform. They also refused to place Mr. Roosevelt's name formally before the convention, and finally seceded entirely. Mr. Taft was nominated on the first ballot.* Thus there was brought about a definite split in the Republican ranks. This was followed by the formation of the National Progressive party, which held a convention at Chicago in August, and nominated Roosevelt and Johnson amid great enthusiasm.

The antagonism between progressives and conservatives was apparent also in the Democratic convention that met in Baltimore, June 25. Here the favorites were Harmon, of Ohio; Champ Clark (Speaker of the House), of Missouri; Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey; and Underwood, of Alabama. Mr. Bryan refused to be a candidate, but threw his influence strongly for Wilson when he deemed that certain moneyed interests and the Tammany influence were supporting other candidates. The result was a long and bitter contest, Mr. Wilson being nominated on the forty-sixth ballot. Governor Thomas Marshall, of Indiana, was named as candidate for Vice-President.

In their platforms all three of these parties stood for certain reforms (publicity of campaign contributions, parcels post, conservation, and the merit system). Upon the tariff question, the Progressives occupied a position between the extreme views of the other parties. The Democrats and Republicans came near agreeing upon the policy of breaking up trusts; while the Progressives favored the policy of regulation. Both Democrats and Progressives favored an income tax and the direct election of Senators. The latter had in addition an extensive programme of reform measures: the initiative, the referendum, the short ballot, laws favoring the welfare of working men and women, and woman-suffrage. They also favored the recall of judicial decisions, *i. e.*, a popular vote in certain cases when the courts have declared laws unconstitutional.

* Most of the La Follette men adhered to him, but some followed Roosevelt. When the latter arrived in Chicago, during the progress of the convention, and was asked how he felt, he replied: "Like a bull-moose." His party later came to be known as the Bull-moose party.

The result of the election, as shown by the accompanying map and statistics, was the election of Mr. Wilson by a very large plurality.

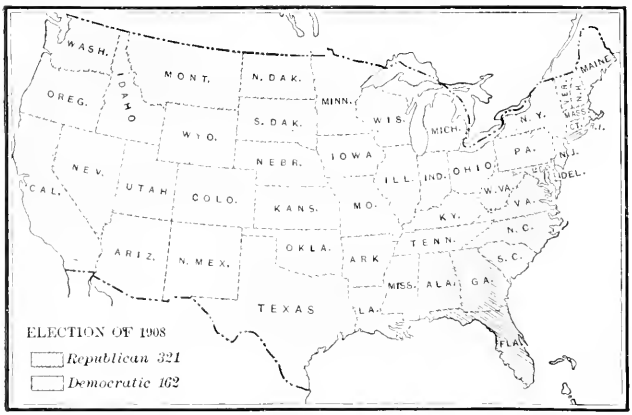
Previous to his election, Mr. Wilson had been a member of the faculty of Princeton University, later its president (1902–1910) and Governor of New Jersey (1911–1913).

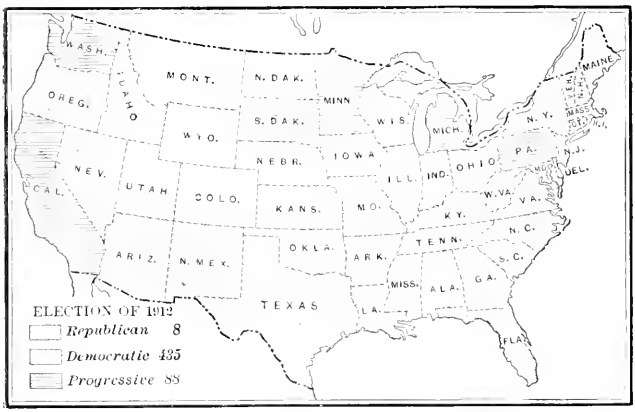
Jane Addams. Head of Hull House, Chicago, since 1889. Most prominent of the women delegates to the Progressive Convention. President of Women's Peace Party (January, 1915) and of International Congress of Women.

When the sixty-third Congress was called in special session, soon after the inauguration of the new President, the Democrats were in possession of the legislative and the executive branches of the Government. Urged on by Mr. Wilson, this Congress passed a series of remarkable laws.

1. The Underwood tariff (1913) made decided reductions, so that the estimated average rate of duties would be less than 30 per cent.

Its objects were: (*a*) to reduce the cost of living by allowing the free importation of some necessities—among them foodstuffs, boots and shoes, lumber, and sugar (the last after May 1, 1916); (*b*) to induce foreign competition by reducing about one-half the duties on many articles, such as metal products, woollen and cotton goods; (*c*) to aid the farmers by admitting free of duty manufactures used on farms. To supply any deficit in revenue an income tax was enacted, bearing upon the net incomes of both individuals and corporations. Before the law was passed the Constitution had been amended so that the apportionment of this tax among the States according to population would not be necessary (see p. 404). Amendment Sixteen, printed on p. 573, was adopted in February, 1913.





Election Statistics

	1908		1912	
	Popular	Electoral	Popular	Electoral
Republican....	7,678,000	321	3,484,000	8
Democratic....	6,409,000	162	6,293,000	435
Progressive....	.....	....	4,119,000	88
Socialist.....	420,000		901,000	
Prohibition....	253,000		207,000	

2. An epoch-making law was the Federal Reserve Banking Act, intended to cure the two great evils that had for many years rendered our monetary and banking systems unscientific and dangerous to the financial welfare of the country: viz., lack of elasticity in our money supply, and lack of co-operation among banking institutions.

For several years the Aldrich Monetary Commission had studied this problem, and their report threw much light upon the situation. Under this law twelve Regional Reserve Banking Associations were formed, each having a bank located in a large city, whose stock is owned by the national banks of its district (together with such State banks as choose to join). These reserve banks are the official depositories and financial agents of the Federal Government.* They distribute the reserves in their charge according to the needs of the various sections of the country. Moreover, they may issue notes to the National banks, which in turn use them in business, after depositing with the reserve banks approved promissory notes of their customers. Thus the money supply of the country can be increased when the demand is great; and any surplus of federal-reserve notes may be withdrawn later. These notes are gradually to supersede the National bank notes. Each Regional Reserve Association has a board of directors, and there is a Federal Reserve Board at Washington supervising the entire system.

3. The Clayton Anti-Trust Act was designed to supplement the Sherman Act (see pp. 472–473), which was so general in its terms that the Government experienced great difficulty in securing satisfactory results from prosecutions.

The new law specified certain practices as illegal: (*a*) *price discriminations*, through which large industries might drive smaller ones out of business, thus lessening competition and tending to create monopoly; (*b*) *exclusive trade agreements*, by which

* Thus the independent treasury system is finally abolished (see pp. 314, 328). The new system is virtually a return to the principles upon which the first and second United States Banks were founded. See pp. 220, 272.

one concern may shut off the competition of its rivals; (*c*) *interlocking directorates*, a method of combining several corporations by having certain persons act as directors upon the boards of each; (*d*) *holding companies*, another device for facilitating combination.

4. A Federal Trade Commission was established, whose function is to investigate corporations doing an interstate business, and to assist the Government in the prosecution of such as violate any of the anti-trust laws.

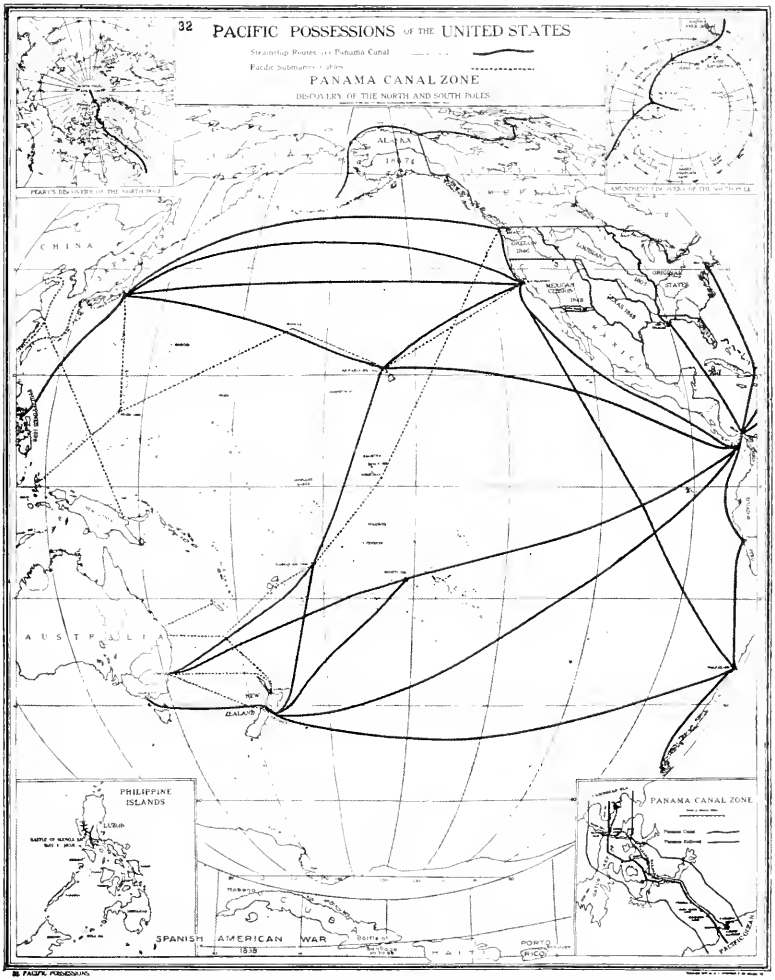
5. Another important act was that strictly regulating the importation and sale of habit-forming drugs, thus suppressing the illegitimate use of them.

6. A law organizing the Territory of Alaska had been passed in 1912; and now the importance of its proper development was recognized in a law appropriating $35,000,000 for the construction *by the Government* of a thousand-mile railroad in that Territory. Coal lands in Alaska are either to be reserved for Government use or leased to the highest bidders in small tracts.

Several bills of importance failed of enactment in this Congress: one imposing a literacy test upon immigrants was vetoed by President Wilson; another was aimed to restrict the employment of child labor in industries. A proposed amendment to the Constitution which would prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors passed the House by a majority vote, but less than the necessary two-thirds.*

The completion of the Panama Canal (it was opened to regular traffic in August, 1914) marks an epoch in our history. At last the dream of Columbus is fulfilled, and a way through the barrier continent on the route to India has been found (see p. 11). Freight charges between Atlantic and Pacific points were greatly reduced, and the way opened for the growth of unprecedented South American trade.

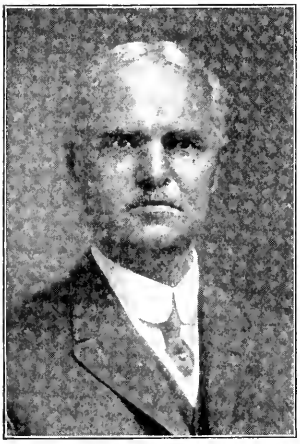
* This is one indication of the anti-liquor wave that has swept the country in recent years. Legal prohibition in eighteen States (1916), and many local units has placed more than one-half the population of the country under this system.



Pacific Ocean and Adjacent Continents, Showing Trade Routes via Panama Canal

From Sanford American History Maps

An act of 1912 provided a permanent government for the Panama Canal Zone; the Commission (see p. 516) was abolished and the zone was placed in control of a Governor, with subordinate officers. To this position the President appointed Colonel (now Major-General) George W. Goethals, who as head of the Commission had prosecuted the work of construction in a most successful manner. The remarkable feature of this work, costing more than $350,000,000, is the demonstration of efficiency shown by the Federal Government in completing it upon a sound business basis.



From a photograph by G. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.

Major-General George W. Goethals

In making provision for the tolls to be charged, Congress exempted from such payment all vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of this country. Since only vessels of United States registry can engage in such trade, it was claimed by the Government of Great Britain, and by many persons in this country, that this exemption violated a provision of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 (see p. 515), which stated that the canal was to be open to vessels of all nations upon equal terms. The Democratic Congress repealed this exemption.

Troubles in Mexico, beginning in 1911, gave Presidents Taft and Wilson much concern. President Porfirio Diaz had ruled Mexico in a despotic manner since 1876. Order in that country had thereby been secured, but the masses of the people were much oppressed. Revolutionary movements forced Diaz to resign (1911) and Francisco Madero was elected President. He in turn was opposed by insurrectionists, who kept the country in turmoil until Taft threatened intervention. General Victoriano Huerta, previously an adherent of Madero, next gained the upper hand and imprisoned Madero, who was soon after murdered. President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta,

and the latter was finally driven from Mexico by his enemies, under the leadership of Villa and Carranza. In the course of Wilson's policy of so-called "watchful waiting," instead of intervention, some sailors from a United States gunboat were arrested in Tampico (April, 1914), but were immediately released. When a salute demanded by Rear-Admiral Mayo, by way of apology, was refused, marines were landed at Vera Cruz. They were fired upon, and nineteen were killed. Some 9,000 regular troops were then placed in charge of the city. They were withdrawn six months later.

A peace conference was held at Niagara Falls, Ontario, including delegates from the so-called A B C nations (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile). This, however, failed to end the dissensions in Mexico, and disorder continued. After the enemies of Huerta had forced him to leave the country, they used their armies against each other, in jealous efforts to secure control. Much property belonging to foreigners was destroyed, and not a few foreigners were killed. In June, 1915, President Wilson notified the warring leaders that they must get together and promote a settled government in Mexico.

The outbreak of the terrible European war in August, 1914, placed new obligations upon our people and Government, and raised new and troublesome problems. An appropriation was made by Congress and used by our representatives abroad for the aid of American citizens who were endeavoring to leave the countries involved in war. Later, unprecedented generosity on the part of our people was displayed in the contributions of food, clothing, and money to the suffering inhabitants of Belgium, Servia, and Poland. Congress found it necessary to enact (October, 1914) a stamp tax to make up for the loss of revenue due to the decline of imports from the warring nations.

Since the merchant marine of the United States carried only about 10 per cent. of the goods handled in our foreign trade,

the question now arose, should we not take advantage of the lack of merchant vessels, during the war, to build up this industry? The registry of foreign-built American-owned vessels was now allowed (August, 1914). Since private capital was slow to invest in ship-building enterprises, President Wilson urged Congress to enact a Shipping Bill, which provided for the Government's participation in buying or building merchant ships. But Congress refused to pass the bill.

At the outset of the war the Government assumed a position of strict neutrality, and awaited eagerly an opportunity to assist the countries at war to begin peace negotiations. In connection with its efforts to enforce the rights of American citizens under international law, many difficult questions arose.*

(*a*) The belligerent nations extended the definition of *contraband* to cover more articles than previously; so American copper and oil were detained in foreign ports. (*b*) The belligerents, especially Great Britain, also detained cargoes of innocent goods, such as cotton and food-stuffs, bound to her enemies, whether directly or by way of neutral nations. (*c*) Both Great Britain and Germany proclaimed *war zones* covering the waters about the British Isles, and warned neutral vessels away. Against these policies our Government made repeated formal protests.

The most serious case was that of the British merchantman, *Lusitania*, torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of Ireland on May 14, 1915, without notification of attack, and without opportunity being given its passengers to escape. About 1,600 passengers, including more than 100 Americans, lost their lives. President Wilson made a strong protest against this violation of international law, and demanded that Germany cease her submarine policy under which such events become possible. Disagreeing with the President upon the nature of his negotiations with Germany, Secretary of State Bryan resigned on June 8.

The self-control of the American people and their devotion to the principle of peace have been displayed by their attitude of moderation during the course of these trying events.

* The important principles governing neutral rights in time of war are stated in Government in State and Nation, pp. 302–303.

Suggestive Questions and References

1. Why Canada defeated reciprocity is stated in Independent, 71:709–711. Outlook, 98:100–102.

2. The provisions and purposes of the tariff of 1913. World's Work, 27:9–10. Review of Reviews, 48:515–517. Outlook, 105:305–308. Independent, 76:66–68.

3. Which is better, representative or direct government? Atlantic Monthly, 108:454–465; 109:122–131.

4. Is the recall of judges a wise policy? North American Review, 193:672–690. Century Magazine, 84:15–21. Independent, 71:384–385.

5. The story of the insurgents and the revision of the House rules is told in World's Work, 19:12805–12. Outlook, 94:289–292, 639–640, 750–754. North American Review, 191:510–516.

6. Progressive laws in many States. Review of Reviews, 48:86–87.

7. The argument for conservation is given in World's Work, 21:13607–11, 23:593–595, 25:246–249. The other side is stated in North American Review, 191:465–481.

8. A full account of the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy is found in Outlook, 95:6–7, 43–47, 233–235, 288–295.

9. The election of 1912. Nominating conventions, Review of Reviews, 46:191–193. Presidential primaries, Outlook, 101:56–58, 102–103. Issues, Outlook, 102:271–272. Personal platforms of candidates, World's Work, 24:20–24. Independent, 73:930–958. The Progressive party, Review of Reviews, 46:197–200. Character sketch of Wilson, Review of Reviews, 46:177–184. Cartoons of the Campaign, *ibid.*, 46:169–176.

10. For maps showing the progress of woman-suffrage and State prohibition down to June, 1915, see Outlook, 110:366–367.

11. Debate over the immigration literacy test bill of 1915. Survey, 29:419–420, 497–499.

12. Different views of the Panama tolls question are given in Century Magazine, 84:792–793, and Outlook, 101:755–756; 102:243–244.

13. Colonel Goethals, the builder of the canal, World's Work, 24:389–402. A series of articles on the history of the canal, written by Colonel Goethals, began in Scribner's Magazine, March, 1915.

14. The United States army in Vera Cruz. Outlook, 107: 233–234. Review of Reviews, 49:666–673.

15. Good discussions of American neutrality are found in Outlook, 108:903–904, 614–615; 109:75–78. North American Review, 201:241–247. Independent, 80:80–82, 277–279; 81: 39–40, 147–148.

CHAPTER XXXIII

FROM PEACE TO WAR, 1915–1917

A CONDITION of civil war resulted from the rivalry of Carranza and Villa in Mexico. American citizens who remained in Mexico in spite of the repeated warnings of our Government to depart lost their property and in many cases their lives. There were border raids into our territory in which similar injuries were inflicted.

Our army in Mexico

In October, 1915, our Government gave formal recognition to Carranza as head of the Mexican Government. An attack by bandits from Villa's army upon Columbus, New Mexico, in March, 1916, led to the invasion of Mexico by several thousand of our troops under General Pershing. This expedition failed to capture Villa. Its presence in Mexico aroused animosity there and Carranza insisted upon its withdrawal. This took place several months later.

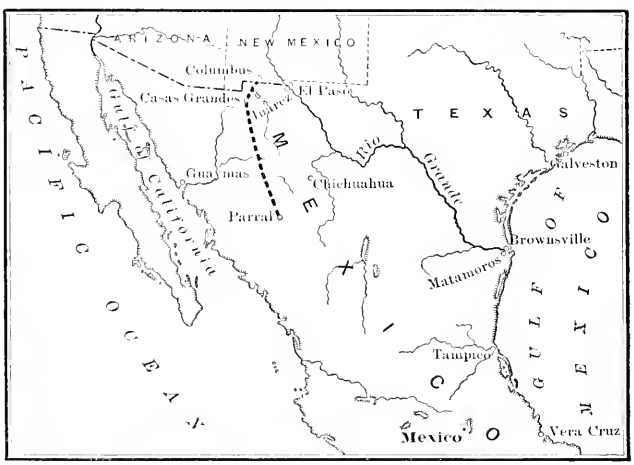
and on the border.

Meanwhile, border raids continued, and in June President Wilson ordered the National Guard of all the States to mobilize and prepare for service on the Mexican border. Within a few weeks some 100,000 troops were assembled there. They were gradually withdrawn during the following autumn. A Joint Commission was appointed by the American and Mexican Governments to adjust our differences, but without important results.

The railway eight-hour controversy.

At the same time the administration was troubled by an important internal problem. Four "Brotherhoods," or unions, of railway employees, numbering 400,000 men, demanded pay upon the basis of an eight-hour instead of a ten-hour day, with pay for overtime at a rate fifty per cent. higher. A conference between the executives of the "Brotherhoods" and a committee of railway man-

agers resulted in failure to agree. The employees refused to submit the issue to arbitration and voted to strike unless their demands were granted. Another fruitless conference, in August, 1916, was followed by White House conferences between the heads of the contending factions



The Route of General Pershing's Troops into Mexico. Villa and His Forces Fled to the Mountains

and President Wilson. The latter pressed for acceptance of the eight-hour day, without pay at a higher rate for overtime, but the railways claimed that this was merely a demand for higher wages, which they could not afford to pay. A strike was ordered for Labor Day, September 4. Knowing that a general "tie-up" of the railways of the entire country would involve great disaster, the President then addressed Congress, urging the enactment of an eight-hour law. This was accomplished in the Adamson law and the great strike was averted.

Action was soon brought in the courts to test the legality of the Adamson law. In March, 1917, it was de-

clared constitutional by the Supreme Court. A commission was appointed to watch its workings and to report to Congress.

The election of 1916—candidates and issues.

The presidential campaign and election occurred in the midst of these controversies. It was taken for granted that Mr. Wilson would be the Democratic candidate and he was duly nominated at St. Louis in June. The Democratic platform indorsed his foreign policy, under which this country had been kept out of war, and praised the various strong measures that had been passed since March, 1913 (see pp. 539–542). The Republican platform condemned the foreign policy of the President as vacillating, and as timid in its failure to furnish protection to the lives and property of American citizens abroad. Both platforms urged stronger measures for military and naval preparedness and advocated that a larger merchant marine be fostered, though by different methods.

There was much debate over the selection of a Republican nominee before the meeting of the convention in Chicago. The Progressive ("Bull Moose") party held its convention in the same city and upon the same date, its purpose being to use influence toward the nomination by the Republicans of a candidate of progressive tendencies. It nominated Theodore Roosevelt as its candidate. Mr. Roosevelt telegraphed his declination and later the Progressive National Committee indorsed the Republican candidate Mr. Charles E. Hughes, who meanwhile had been nominated.

Wilson re-elected.

Mr. Hughes was at this time a justice of the Supreme Court, but he immediately resigned. His reputation had been made as prosecutor in certain insurance cases (see p. 521) and later as a vigorous and fearless governor of New York State. The campaign of 1916 was on the whole a quiet one. For several days after the November election the result was in doubt, because a few of the States (especially Minnesota, New Hampshire, and California) gave narrow majorities that might have turned the scale. Finally Mr. Wilson's re-election was assured by the majority of 21 votes in the electoral college.

Anti-liquor legislation.

The closing year of Mr. Wilson's first administration was remarkable for important legislation upon internal affairs. The progress of woman-suffrage and prohibition in the various States continued (see pp. 535, 542). The latter movement was greatly aided by a decision of the Supreme Court upholding the Webb-Kenyon law, which prohibits the shipment of liquors into prohibition States. Congress also enacted prohibition for the District of Columbia and Alaska.

Other important laws.

Fostering rural activities Congress enacted three important laws. The Smith-Lever Act (1914) made large appropriations to aid the States in maintaining an agricultural expert in every county. The Farm Loan, or Rural Credits, Act established a system of banking associations through which the borrowing of money by farmers is made easier and cheaper. The Rural Roads Act made large appropriations to assist the States in building good roads. Another law gave Federal aid to States that maintain vocational schools, where students and teachers are trained in agriculture, domestic science, and manual arts. A new immigration law (1917) was passed over the veto of the President, establishing a literacy test for immigrants.

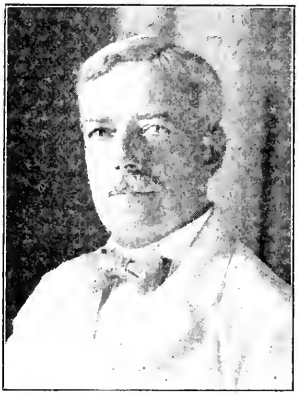
Congress fostered our merchant marine by a Shipping Law (1916) that established a board controlling a capital of $50,000,000 and having power to build or buy ships. The government is principal owner in this enterprise. A permanent Tariff Commission was provided for by another law.

Treaties regarding American relations.

In our relations with neighboring countries, the protection of our government was extended by treaty to Haiti, as had been done previously in Santo Domingo, when that republic showed its inability to maintain order and financial responsibility. The United States Government now collects the customs duties in those countries and guarantees stable governments and peaceful relations with other nations. We also entered into a treaty with Nicaragua guaranteeing our right to build a canal through that country. By another treaty we acquired from

Denmark a group of West Indies islands east of Porto Rico, valuable as naval stations. They were named the Virgin Islands.

The announced and strongly debated Democratic policy of granting independence to the Philippines within a few years was modified so that no date for its consummation was set. Meanwhile, the suffrage was greatly extended in the Philippines and both legislative houses were made elective, the Philippine Commission being abolished.



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Robert Lansing
Secretary of State

Controversy with Britain over neutral rights.

Foreign relations with the combatants of the great European war were of overwhelming importance in the years 1915–1917. We continued diplomatic protests against Great Britain's policy toward neutral shipping (see p. 546). Moreover, Britain extended her control of trade so that direct shipments to Germany were entirely stopped. She also limited shipments to Norway, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark in an attempt to prevent supplies from reaching Germany through these neutral countries. Mails *en route* to and from the United States were stopped and inspected in England. We made no effort beyond protest to enforce the observance of neutral rights in these cases. An arbitration treaty with Britain already provided means for the settlement of damages when these were not satisfactorily adjusted in the prize courts.

Conspiracies promoted by German and Austrian officials.

Our relations with Germany and Austria began to assume a different aspect when it became apparent that systematic campaigns were being conducted in this country for the injury of the enormous commerce that had grown up with Great Britain and her allies. Plots were discovered for the issuing of fraudulent American

passports, for the destruction of bridges, of the Welland Canal, and of vessels carrying cargoes to the Allies; also, for the fomenting of revolts in India and disorders in Mexico. In some of these cases, officers connected with the German and Austrian embassies were found to be furnishing money and directing these movements. The German Government was asked to recall Captains Boy-ed and von Papen, attachés of its embassy. The Austrian ambassador, Dumba, was given his passports when it became known that he proposed to aid in fomenting strikes among laborers in munitions factories.

ermany's bmarine olicy.

But the sharpest controversy arose over the continuance by Germany of the policy begun in the *Lusitania* case (May, 1915, see p. 546), of sinking merchant ships without warning. In spite of our protests other instances occurred during 1915 and 1916, involving the loss of American lives.* Such was the German method of retaliation for the British blockade of her coast. It was a most flagrant violation of international law and involved irreparable loss of life.

ne each th ermany.

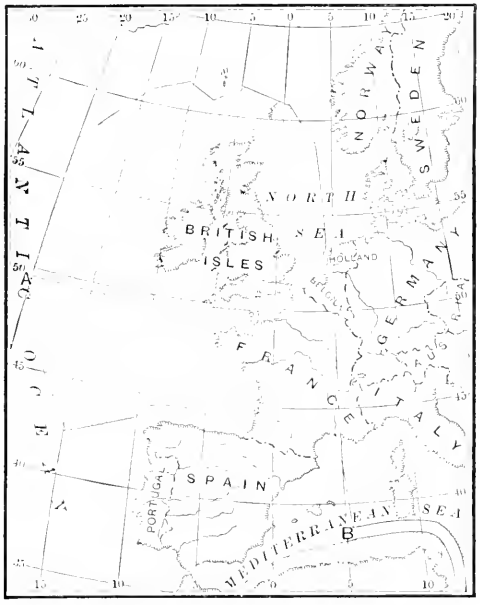
Finally, in March, 1916, when the French passenger steamer *Sussex*, with Americans on board, was sunk in the English Channel, President Wilson issued an ultimatum to Germany threatening breach of diplomatic relations. The reply of Germany (May 4) was a reluctant promise that henceforth warning would be given to crews and passengers, who would thus have opportunity to escape. The violation of this promise came in the announcement that beginning February 1, 1917, all vessels carrying cargoes to Germany's enemies would be liable to submarine attack without warning in a large area of the ocean off the western coast of Europe. This resulted in the breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany when President Wilson handed Count Bern-

* August 19, 1915, *Arabia*, 3 Americans lost. September 4, 1915, *Hesperian*, 1 American lost. October 28, 1916, *Marina*, 8 Americans lost. December 14, 1916, *Russian*, 17 Americans lost.

storff, the German ambassador, his passports and recalled our ambassador, James W. Gerard, from Berlin.

Meanwhile, an important discussion had begun regarding the possibility of peace in Europe. President Wilson addressed the belligerent powers (December, 1916) asking them to state

Wilson's peace message, Jan. 22, 1917.



Submarine War Zone Proclaimed by Germany, February 1, 1917

At *A* there was proposed a safety zone for American vessels in limited numbers carrying innocent cargoes; at *B* another safety line leading to Greece

their terms of peace. Germany's suggestion of a conference was accompanied by the intimation that she would discuss peace from the standpoint of the victor in the war. The terms stated by the Allies could not be reconciled with Germany's ideas. President Wilson read before the Senate, on January 22, 1917, a notable state paper laying down certain principles that he thought should prevail. Some of these were: a peace

without victory; the small nations to have the same rights as large ones; governments to be established by the consent of the governed; absolute freedom of the seas; limitation of armaments; a world Monroe Doctrine, no nation being allowed to force its government upon another.

Arming merchant ships for defence.

The "ruthless" German submarine policy gave rise to much discussion over the arming of merchantmen for defence. President Wilson went before Congress and requested that formal sanction be given him (although he thought he possessed the authority without this) for placing guns and gunners upon merchant ships and for using whatever measures he might think necessary for the defence of our commerce. As this was but a few days before the end of the 64th Congress, and as he stated no intention of calling the new Congress into special session after March 4, his request aroused much opposition, especially in the Senate. A small number of Senators prevented the measure desired by the President from coming to a vote.* However, the policy of arming merchantmen was soon thereafter begun.

James W. Gerard

The Zimmermann note.

During the months of February and March, German submarines continued to sink American vessels with loss of our citizens' lives. It was also revealed that the Foreign Secretary of Germany, Dr. Zimmermann, had written to the German minister in Mexico stating that if

* That this could readily be done against the will of the majority, was due to the lack of means by which debate could be closed in the Senate. Early in its next session, the Senate adopted a "cloture" rule by which debate may be limited by a two-thirds vote.

war ensued between Germany and the United States an alliance with Mexico was desired; also that an effort would be made to win the support of Japan. Mexico's reward for assisting in such a war was to be a slice from that part of our territory which once belonged to Mexico.

The declaration of war, April 2, 1917.

President Wilson called Congress in special session on April 2 and addressed it, requesting the passage of a resolution declaring that because of Germany's aggressions a state of war existed between that country and the United States. The resolution was debated, and adopted in the Senate two days later by a vote of 82 to 6. It was adopted in the House on April 6, the vote being 373 to 50.

Tardy preparations for war.

Thus our country faced a most dreadful war for which scarcely any preparation had been made. President Wilson, previously opposed to extensive military and naval systems, began in his message of December, 1915, to sound a note of warning. The Democratic Congress surprised the country by exceeding in its appropriations for the army and navy the expectations of the President. Both parties in the campaign of 1916 favored large military establishments. The mobilization of the National Guard in 1916 displayed the ineffectiveness for actual service of our entire military system. Congress passed in that year an army reorganization bill which brought the National Guard under closer national control.

Moreover, the business and economic resources of the country were lacking in any semblance of the organization that is necessary for war purposes. And, finally, the wasteful habits of the American people were a direct menace to our safety when a state of war demanded that extraordinary supplies be mobilized for the support of the Allies, beyond the requirements for home consumption. Consequently, our country saw within a few months such a revolution of ideas and practices in military, business, and personal affairs as it had never before experienced in so short a space of time.

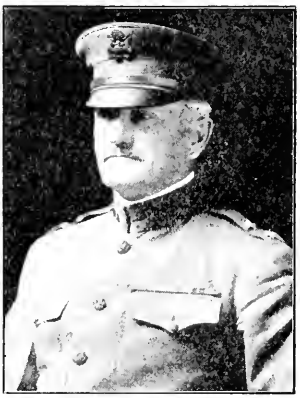
War finances.

The prosecution of the war in close co-operation with the Allies called for enormous appropriations for military and naval purposes. To meet these expenses, Congress voted $7,000,000,000 in bonds, of which three billions

were to be loaned to our European allies. The first call for two billions of this amount as a "Liberty Loan" was much over-subscribed. A taxation bill of correspondingly large proportions was also passed. This included heavy income and excess-profits taxes.

The Conscription law.

Warned by the experience of Great Britain, Congress voted to abandon the time-honored volunteer system upon which we had always depended for raising a large army, and enacted a Conscription law, requiring the enrollment of all males between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive. About ten million names were enrolled in June, and from them a draft of 600,000 was made by lot the next month. Meanwhile many thousands had volunteered for service in the National Guard (soon called into Federal service) and the regular army and navy, which Congress had much enlarged. The navy at once began patrol duty in American waters and a squadron commanded by Admiral Sims arrived in European waters in May. The first contingent of United States regulars arrived in France June 27, under the command of General Pershing. Thus this country began the first military action of its history on European soil.



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General Pershing

American forces in Europe.

Besides these military, naval, and financial preparations, the country saw in the early months of the war an unprecedented organization and centralization of our industrial affairs. A National Council of Defence (composed of six members of the cabinet and seven civilians) was authorized by Congress and brought to the service of the Government some of the leading

Central control of industrial affairs for war purposes.

men of the country drawn from business, financial, railroad, and scientific pursuits. Allied to this Council were the boards and commissions dealing with such important matters as munitions, aircraft production, transportation, supplies, labor, raw materials, medicine and sanitation, and scientific research. The Shipping Board began the construction of merchant ships in large numbers. Here was a grand effort in the direction of the *co-ordination* of all our resources and activities that were essential to the prosecution of the war.

Voluntary activities.

By similar activity great sums of money were voluntarily contributed for the support of the Red Cross and other beneficent organizations. Meanwhile, through newspapers and other means of publicity, the masses of people were taught lessons in economy, especially in the use of food, and were urged to great activity in gardening as a means of increasing the food supply.

Extraordinary executive powers authorized.

War conditions necessitated the exercise of extraordinary powers by the executive branch of the Government. (Compare Civil War conditions, pp. 391, 405.) The President was authorized by an Emergency Act to *commandeer* munitions factories and war supplies, fixing fair prices for them. In the Espionage, or Spy, Bill Congress extended the powers of Federal officers in ways that seemed necessary to guard against the work of enemies within the country. In the Food Bill power was given to fix the prices of food, clothing, fuel, and other necessaries, to control their manufacture, storage, and sale, and to prevent speculation in them. This law prohibited, for the period of the war, all use of food materials for the manufacture of distilled liquors. In July, the President assumed control of all exports, partly to guard our own supply and partly to prevent supplies reaching the enemy.

Why America entered the war.

The participation of the United States in the world war was signalized by the reception of commissions sent here by the various European governments with whom we were co-operating, and by our despatching to Russia a commission, headed by Elihu Root, to assist that country in the establishment of its new republican government. These events meant the abandonment by the United States of its traditional policy of isolation and its complete entrance into world politics. This, said President Wilson in his war message, was necessary to secure the safety of the democratic countries of the world against the menace that threatened them from the autocratic empires of central Europe. Further, it was necessary in order to secure the future peace of the world. We entered this war, then, "for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations,

for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Suggestive Questions and References

1. President Wilson's address upon peace of January 22, 1917, and his war message of April 2 should be familiar documents in every school. They may be obtained free in a pamphlet issued by the Committee of Public Information, Washington, D. C.

2. The Virgin Islands, acquired from Denmark. Review of Reviews, 55: 275–280.

3. The citizens' training camp at Plattsburg, N. Y. Century Magazine, 94: 49–54.

4. War work for women. World's Work, 34: 142–144.

5. An excellent summary of our neutral rights discussion with Great Britain and Germany. Review of Reviews, 55: 268–274.

6. Make a summary covering the progress of events during a given month just preceding or after the declaration of war. Draw facts from news accounts in such periodicals as Outlook, Literary Digest, World's Work, New Republic, Review of Reviews, etc.

APPENDIX I

THE CORRELATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

In many schools it seems desirable to teach American History and Civics in close correlation. As a guide in carrying out this plan, the authors have prepared the following outline of topics, with references to the pages where they are treated in the text "Government in State and Nation" by James and Sanford. There is included, also, a list of topics in Civics with which there is little opportunity for correlation in the study of American History.

AN OUTLINE SHOWING THE CORRELATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY WITH CIVICS.

1. COLONIAL HISTORY

History Topics	*Civics Topics*	"Government in State and Nation." PAGE
(A) LOCAL GOVERNMENTS		
Town type in New England	Town organization of to-day	5
Aristocratic County type in the South	County Organization in Southern States	5
Combined town and democratic county type in the Middle Colonies	Towns and counties in all Western States	5–6
(B) COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS		
Colonial House of Representatives	State House of Representatives or Assembly	11–12
Colonial Governor's Council	State Senate	11
Colonial Governor and Courts	State Governor and courts	18–19
Colonial Charter	State Constitution	10

(c) British Empire

		PAGE
Control of foreign affairs, peace and war, Indians, ungranted land, and commerce, by Parliament	Control of same affairs by Congress	See Index
Privy Council	United States Supreme Court	261

2. REVOLUTIONARY AND CRITICAL PERIODS

The formation of State governments; adoption of State constitutions	The existing States and State constitutions	10–11
Continental Congresses Articles of Confederation	The Central Government	
The impotence of Congress	Our strong central powers	
Prominence of State feeling	The National spirit	
Attitude of foreign nations	Position of the United States to-day	

3. CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

(A) THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

	Art.	Sec.	Clause	"Government in State and Nation" PAGE
Legislative Department	1	1		109–112, 121
	1	4	2	122–123
The House	1	2	1, 3, 5	121–129
The Senate	1	3	1, 2, 4, **5**	129–134
Additional Compromise provisions	1	7	1	169
	1	9	4	167
Executive Department	2	1	1, 4, 5, **6**	**213**–215, 228–231
Judicial Department	3	1	1	261
Commerce questions	1	8	3	174
	1	9	1, 5, 6	174, 208
Surrender of powers by States	1	10	1, 2, 3	210–212
Grant of these powers to United States	2	2	2	235
	1	8	1, 3, 5, **11**	162, 174, 199
Ratification of the Constitution	7			114–116
The first ten Amendments	5 and Amdts. 1–10			**266–7**, 288–291, 337–341

(B) THE ADMINISTRATIONS

The election of President and Vice-President, 1789	2	1	**1, 2, 4**	226–227
The oath of office taken by Washington	2	1	**2**	230
Organization of departments	2	2	1	223, 244–245
The Cabinet responsible to the President	2	2	**2, 3**	235

	Art.	Sec.	Clause	"Government in State and Nation"
The Treasury Department	1	9	7	170
The first revenue bills	1	8	1	162
Establishment of mint and coinage	1	8	5, 6	181–182
Census of 1790	1	2	3	126–127
Provisions for United States and State debts	1	8	2	171–172
	6	1		
The National Bank, broad and strict construction	1	8	18	204–206
Legislation on Western lands	4	3	2	274
Admission of Vermont and Kentucky	4	3	1	278
The Whiskey Insurrection	2	3		240
	1	8	15	202
	2	2	1	233
Washington's refusal to receive Genet	2	3		240
Jay's treaty	2	2	2	234–235
Case of Chisholm *vs.* Georgia	Amdt.	11		265
Threatened war with France	1	8	11, 12, 13, 14	189–203
Naturalization act	1	8	4	191–193
Sedition law	Amdt.	1		289–290
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions	Pream.			118–119
the nature of the government	1	8	18	204–206
	6	2		298–300
	Amdts.	9, 10		291–292
Organization of the District of Columbia	1	8	17	203–204
Election of 1801	2	1	1	214
	Amdt.	12		222–223
Adams's "midnight judges"	1	8	9	
	2	2	2	235–236
Case of Marbury *vs.* Madison	3	2	1	263–264

Impeachment of Chase	2	4		
	1	2	5	138–139
	1	3	6, 7	
* Louisiana purchase	2	2	2	272–273, 278–279
	1	8	18	204–206
Cumberland Road appropriation	1	8	7, 18	193, 204–206
Burr's trial	3	3	1, 2	268–269
	3	2	3	266
Prohibition of slave trade	1	9	1	112, 208–209
Embargo act	1	8	3	174
Clay as Speaker	1	2	5	128–129
Action of New England States as regards militia	1	8	15, 16	202
New England opposition to War of 1812	Pream.			118–119
and Hartford Convention	1	8	18	204–206
	6	2		298–300
	Amdts.	9, 10		291–292
Treaty of Ghent (another method of negotiating treaties)	2	2	2	235–236
Supreme Court decisions as to jurisdiction of States and Nation—influence of Marshall	3	2	1	263–264
Protective tariff, 1816	1	8	1, 18	162–163, 204–206
Internal improvement laws and vetoes	1	8	7, 18	193, 204–206
	1	7	2	152–153
Missouri Compromise	4	3	2	274
	4	2	1	271–272
Election of 1824 by House of Representatives	Amdt.	12		222–223
Nullification by South Carolina	Pream.			118–119
	1	8	18	204–206
	6	2		298–300
	Amdts.	9, 10		291–292

*Subsequent annexations of territory are omitted from the list, as dependent upon the same clauses.

	Art.	Sec.	Clause	"Government in State and Nation"
Public lands	4	3	2	274, 278–285
Spoils system	2	2	2	234–235, 327
"Gag rule"	Amdt.	1		289–290
Censure and expunging resolution	1	5	3	142
Independent treasury	1	8	18	204–206
Succession of Tyler to Presidency	2	1	5	228–229
Annexation of Texas by joint resolution	1	7	3	153–154
Declaration of war against Mexico	1	8	11	199–200
Influence of patent and copyright systems	1	8	8	196–198
Wilmont Proviso-Squatter Sovereignty discussion	4	3	2	274–275
Fugitive slave law	4	2	3	271
Abolition of Slave trade in District of Columbia	1	8	17	203–204
Personal liberty laws and underground railroads	6	2		298–300
	Amdts.	6, 7		267–268
Attempted expulsion of Brooks	1	5	2	141
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Lincoln-Douglas debates: election of United States Senator	1	3	1	129–131
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Secession and Buchanan's policy	1	8	18	204–206
Legal position of seceding States	6	2		298–300
	Amdts.	9, 10		291–292
Lincoln's policy in reinforcing Fort Sumter	2	1	7	230–231
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The United States army and navy, and the draft	1	8	12, 13, 15	194–202
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Suspension of the writ of habeas corpus	1	9	2	209
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Civil Service act	2	2	2	234–235, 237–240
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Reciprocity	1	8	1	174–165
Annexation of Hawaii	1	7	3	152–154
Free coinage	1	8	5	181
Restriction of suffrage in South	Amdt.	14, Sec.	2	125–126
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Gold standard act, 1900	1	8	5	181
Government of colonies	4	3	2	274–275
Immigration laws	1	8	3	174, 175–175
Injunctions in labor disputes	3	2	1	263–264
Postal Saving Banks	1	8	7	193, 194–195

The following clauses of the Constitution are not included in the outline of correlation

	Sec.	Clause.	
Art. 1	2	2	124
	3	3	131
	4	1	132–135
	5	4	142
	6	2	144
Art. 3	2	2, 3	363–264, 266
Art. 4	1		271
	2	1, 2	271–272

EXTRA CONSTITUTIONAL TOPICS TREATED IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The following topics show the actual workings and policy of the National government, although no part of the Constitution is directly involved in any one of them:

History Topics	*Civics Topics*	"Government in State and Nation." PAGE
Comparison of early and later Presidential elections	Methods of selecting presidential electors. Methods of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President	222–228
Tenure of office act. Quarrel between Garfield and Conkling	Senatorial courtesy	236
Whiskey Ring	Methods of collecting Internal Revenue	165–166
Presidency of Arthur	Presidential succession	228–229
Monroe's message. Clayton-Bulwer treaty. French in Mexico. Pan-American Congress. Cuban War. Panama Canal Policy	Monroe Doctrine	
Treaty of Washington	International Arbitration	304–307
International Peace Conferences	The Hague Tribunal	306

SUBJECTS NOT TREATED IN THE CORRELATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS

1. *National Government*

While, as the preceding outline shows, the study of American History brings before the pupil the more important parts of the Constitution, and also some of the extra-constitutional workings of the National government, yet there are many features of our government which do not arise naturally in the discussion of any event of American history. A list of such topics follows:

(A) CONGRESS	"Government in State and Nation." PAGE
Times of elections and sessions	123
Present apportionment and personnel of Congress	128–129
Contested seats	140–141
Gerrymandering	134–135
Method of voting in Congress	150, 156
The Committee system	146–148
Comparison with English Cabinet system	157–160
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(B) EXECUTIVE

	PAGE
Methods employed in collecting taxes	163, 166
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Postal system and deficit	193–196
Status of army, navy, and militia	200–203
Consular reform	289
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(C) JUDICIARY

Present organization of courts	262–263
Process of trial	266–269

2. *State and Local Governments*

General *versus* special and private legislation	12–13
Restrictions upon State legislatures	12–13
Lobbying and corruption of legislators	13
Referendum and initiative	14–15
Proportional representation	14–15
Important and recent legislation upon public health, insurance, general labor conditions, labor of women and children, liquor traffic, etc.	Chaps. 10, 11
City Government—general organization, administrative departments; police corruption; home rule; party politics in city affairs; municipal ownership; reform movements	Chap. 4
Election processes and problems—educational qualifications; boss and machine rule; primary reform; Australian ballot; voting machine	Chap. 5
Taxation methods and problems—corporation taxes; mortgage tax; income and inheritance tax; faults of property tax	Chap. 6
Penal and charitable legislation and institutions	Chap. 8
Educational legislation and school systems	Chap. 9
Judicial organization—processes of trial; workings of jury system	Chap. 7

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America

ARTICLE I.

Section I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives

Sect. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the

United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECT IV. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emolu-

ments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding $10 for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the

United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECT. II. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law : but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. IV. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I. 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction,

both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several

States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by] G° WASHINGTON,
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.
Wm. Saml. Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.
Wil: Livingston,
David Brearley,
Wm: Paterson,
Jona: Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.
B Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robt. Morris,
Geo. Clymer,
Tho. Fitz Simons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouv Morris.

DELAWARE.
Geo: Read,
Gunning Bedford, Jun,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jaco: Broom.

MARYLAND.
James McHenry,
Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer,
Danl Carroll.

VIRGINIA.
John Blair,
James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.
Wm. Blount,
Richd. Dobbs Spaight,
Hu Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
J. Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.
William Few,
Abr Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger ; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.—1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall de-

volve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.—Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.—Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any

office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.—Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

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